1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Turning now to the message sticks, certain conventional signs scratched on leaves or flat slips of wood were at times sent by Sinhalese chiefs to the Veddas as an intimation that they required them to bring venison and honey. These signs always took one form, representing a carrying stick (*pingo*), to each end of which a circular object representing a pot of honey was attached. By the side of the pot of honey there were generally drawn two short vertical lines, immediately beneath which were a number of rather longer horizontal lines. Each pair of horizontal lines represented a joint of venison and the vertical lines immediately above them the cord by which they would be suspended from the *pingo*. As far as we could determine no other form of written message ever passed between the Sinhalese and Veddas, but there is no doubt that although the Sitala Wanniya Veddas knew nothing of such messages the Danigala Veddas recognised their meaning and acted on them. Mr Bibile told us that on one occasion when he had sent this message scratched on an *ola* leaf to the headman of the Danigala Veddas he had received the honey and venison he had asked for in about a week. We were told that on receiving this message a Vedda might say

Dik, dik, ewuwā; kac kuṭṭā
Waṭa kuru ewuwā; paeni muṭṭā[1]
Koṭa koṭa ewuwā; mac kuṭṭā[2].

Long long (ones I) have sent; cut pingos
Round (ones I) have sent; honey pots
Short short (ones I) have sent; cut meat.

and represent this modified to suit the convenience of the peasant Sinhalese who, as already mentioned, have much Vedda blood in them.

[1] *Muṭṭa* may be a verb, *muṭṭiya* is a pot.

[2] *Kuṭṭa* appears to be derived from v. *kutanawā*, to chop or cut; compare colloquial *kuwā*, "I have drunk," from v. *kuwanawā* and other instances. We are indebted to Mr Parker for these notes as well as for the transliteration and translation of the message.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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other, but betel leaves and areca nut are often added and the oldest survivor of a small group of comparatively unsophisticated Veddas seen at Godatalawa stated that in the old days this offering would have consisted of yams and water, if, as was often the case, coconuts and rice—which were only to be secured with difficulty and by barter—could not be obtained. In each community there is one man called *kapurale* or *dugganawa*, who has the power and knowledge requisite to call the *yaku*, and in the ceremony of presenting the offering called *Nae Yaku Natanawa* (literally the dancing of the *Nae Yaku*), this man calls upon the *yaku* of the recently dead man to come and take the offering. It was stated that *dugganawa* was an older word than *kapurale* and was in fact a Vedda word, though it was soon obvious that only a minority of Veddas knew it. The *dugganawa*[1], who throughout this book will be spoken of as the shaman, becomes possessed by the *yaku* of the dead man who speaks through the mouth of the shaman in hoarse guttural accents, declaring that he approves the offering, that he will assist his kinsfolk in hunting, and often stating the direction in which the next hunting party should go.

Each shaman trains his successor, usually taking as his pupil his own son or his sister's son (i.e. his actual or potential son-in-law). Handuna of Sitala Wanniya learnt from his father. At Henebedda we were told that a special hut was built in which the shaman and his pupil slept, and from which women were excluded. It seems probable that this is only done among Veddas who have come under Sinhalese influence, as among them, but not among the wilder Veddas, women are considered unclean, and there was no isolation of the shaman and his pupil at Sitala Wanniya.

Sella Wanniya of Unuwatura Bubula was instructed by his father, and during his apprenticeship he resided with him in a hut into which his mother was not allowed to come.

The pupil learns to repeat the invocations used at the various ceremonies, but no food is offered to the *yaku*. At Sitala Wanniya we were told that the shaman recited the following formula, explaining to the *yaku* that he is teaching his pupil:

[1] See footnote, p. 16.

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(Ayu bowa. Mama ada sita man golayek hadanawd
Eyin kisi waradak ganda epa.
Mage golayata man kiya denawa me puda topata denda

"May (your) life be long! From to-day I am rearing a scholar of the mind. Do not take any offense at it. I am explaining to my pupil how to give this offering to you."

The yaku understand that although the formulae invoking them are recited they are not really being called, and so the pupil does not become possessed while learning, nor do the yaku hurt him. The puil avoids eating or touching pig or eating fowl in the same way, as the shaman, and Sell of Unuwatura Bubula stated that while learning he avoided rice, coconuts and kurakan, eating especially the flesh of the sambar and monitor lizard.

The shaman exercises complete control over his pupil and, we believe does not usually train more than one disciple. We heard of one instance in which a shaman, considering his pupil unfit, advised him to give up all idea of becoming a shaman. This happened among the Mudigala Veddas, apparently between 20 or 30 years ago. No man, however highly trained, is accounted the official shaman of a community during his teacher's life, although with his teacher's permission he will, when he is proficient, perform ceremonies and become possessed by the yaku.

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At Sitala Wanniya we discovered that a shaman must not cut his hair unless he takes special precautions. One of us was collecting specimens of hair, and on asking Handuna for a lock, was answered affirmatively but told that as he (Handuna) was a shaman a cloth must be held over his head "because of the yaku." As we had used a great deal of cloth, we asked if a piece of newspaper would do; Handuna replied that it would be as good, but he must keep it always to cover his head when he danced. We explained that the paper would probably rot; the said he, "I shall die." He said he did not know why, but he believed this, as his father had told him that even should his son want a lock of his hair (hair is given as "seisin") he must cover his head with a cloth when it was cut, and ever afterwards must cover it when dancing, or else the yaku would kill him. Yet such was his politeness that rather than refuse our request

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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the *yaku*, might expect to have especially good luck on account of their close association with the spirits. Many instances occurred which showed how strong was the feeling of good fellowship which the living had for the spirits of their dead. Thus at Sitala Wanniya, on the occasion of the performance of a *Nae Yaku* ceremony got up at our request, Handuna, the shaman and leading man in the small community, volunteered the statement that he and his people were delighted to hold the ceremony, since it was seldom that they were able to offer their *yaku* such food as that provided by us. After his own father had been invoked and had expressed his unqualified pleasure at the good things provided for him, there was some discussion as to further dancing, because the dancer really felt exhausted, but all urged the continuation of the ceremony, since there were other *yaku* who might well be invoked on an occasion when an unusually plenteous supply of food was provided for them. Again, in the ceremony which insured the safe taking of rock honey, it was explained that every male member of the little community must perform the dance, since only thus could they certainly expect to share in the benefits to be reaped from the goodwill of the *yaku*. But perhaps the best example of the feeling of affectionate regard and of kindly good-fellowship existing between the living and the dead is afforded by the end of the invocation on the occasion of the *Nae Yaku* ceremony at Sitala Wanniya, for surely there could be no closer communion between the quick and the dead than that implied in the invocation, which is fully carried into effect by every member of the community sharing in the food that has been offered to the *yaku*.

"Salutation! Salutation! Part [of our] relatives having called [you] in time (i.e. at the right time) [we] give you white rice. [You] eat [and] drink. Do not think any wrong (i.e. do not form an unfavourable opinion of us). We also eat and drink [the same food]."

The above account is an outline of the simplest form of death ceremony such as was described to us at Godatalawa, but usually the matter is complicated by the invocation of certain *yaku* other than the *Nae Yaku*. Many generations ago there lived a Vedda called Kande Wanniya, a mighty hunter, who at his death became Kande Yaka, and under this name is constantly

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The following translation of the invocation of Godegedara Bandara has been prepared by Mr Parker from a manuscript given me in Ceylon by the Arachi of Potuliyadde.

The Song of the God Godegedara.

1. He is a god of a distant country in the Uva region,
   Having come to this side in the Wellassa region,
   Having raised my joined hands to my head I worship (him) that there may be good luck.
   He is coming, I shall say, the God of (this) region.

2. Is not every one staying in (some) place?
   Having died in its heart what pulse will ripen?
   The God sleeps in the upper heavens.
   The God Godegedara is coming.

3. For an endless time being on the watch we utter songs to the God.
   Should there be mistakes (in them) in the name of charity (or merit) pardon the mistakes.
   Endlessly songs are sung accompanied by beating of the five (kinds of) tom-toms.
   The God Godegedara is powerful (enough) even to give a tusk elephant.

4. When it rises the dusk of the moon lights up the round universe and Dambadiva (India).
   The God Godegedara appears like an inextinguishable lamp (lit. a lamp with its fire enduring by (divine) orders for many years).
   The hair of his head sports in the midst of his back like the play of golden rays acting as his retinue.
   Should King Godegedara come to the seat I shall now receive the betel altar (i.e. the offering will be made, and the officiator will then get the betel which has been offered).

"In the last line there is some doubt about the title of Godegedara; either the expression *dera(na) devi* means king, that is literally 'god of the earth,' or *dera* has been written by mistake."

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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was but too anxious to assimilate and practise all that the Arachi would teach him. The knowledge he thus acquired spread to the younger members of the tribe, such as Sita Wanniya, who obviously took more interest in the ceremonial observances of his religion than any other of the younger men we met, and it was said that he would probably be the next shaman. The older men, on the other hand, appeared to know little of the developments introduced by the Arachi. To them Kande Yaka, Bilindi Yaka and the *Nae Yaku* were not only the most important spiritual powers, but appeared to be the only ones who were at all well known; the simplicity of the eschatological beliefs of these older men has already been referred to on p. 126 and agrees wonderfully well with those described by Bailey in 1863. "The result of the most patient inquiry is, that the Veddahs have a vague belief in a host of undefined spirits, whose influence is rather for good than evil. ...They believe that the air is peopled by spirits, that every rock and every tree, every forest and every hill, in short every feature of nature, has its *genius loci*; but these seem little else than mere nameless phantoms, whom they regard rather with mysterious awe than actual dread....But besides this vague spirit-worship, they have a more definite superstition, in which there is more of system. This is the belief in the guardianship of the spirits of the dead. Every relative becomes a spirit after death, who watches over the welfare of those who are left behind. These, which include their ancestors and their children, they term their 'nehya yakoon,' kindred spirits. They describe them as 'ever watchful, coming to them in sickness, visiting them in dreams, giving them flesh when hunting.' In short in every calamity, in every want they call on them for aid; and it is curious that the shades of their departed children, 'bilindoo yakkoon,' or infant spirits, as they call them, are those which they appear most frequently to invoke....

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"The ceremonies with which they invoke them are few as they are simple. The most common is the following: an arrow is fixed upright in the ground, and the Veddah dances slowly round it, chanting this invocation, which is almost musical in its rhythm:

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'Mâ miya, mâ miya, mâ deyâ,
Topang koyihetti mittigan yandâh!'

'My departed one, my departed one, my God!
Where art thou wandering?'

The spirit of the dead is here simply called upon, without even the object for which it is invoked being mentioned. And this invocation appears to be used on all occasions, when the intervention of the guardian spirit is required, in sickness, preparatory to hunting, etc.

"Sometimes, in the latter case, a portion of the flesh of the game is promised as a votive offering, in the event of the chase being successful; and they believe that the spirits will appear to them in dreams and tell them where to hunt.

"Sometimes they cook food and place it in the dry bed of a river, or some other secluded spot, and then call on their deceased ancestors by name. 'Come, and partake of this! Give us maintenance as you did when living! Come! wheresoever you may be; on a tree, on a rock, in the forest, come!' and they dance round the food, half chanting, half shouting, the invocation.

"They have no knowledge of a Supreme Being. 'Is he on a rock? On a white ant-hill? On a tree? I never saw a God!' was the only reply I received to repeated questions. They have no idols, offer no sacrifices, and pour no libations. They cannot be said to have any temples, for the few sticks sometimes erected, with a branch thrown over them, are, I imagine, simply to protect their votive offerings[1]."

Although in essentials this account is accurate, certain corrections and suggestions must be made. The "bilindoo yakkoon" are not "infant spirits" but obviously represent Bilindi Yaka who became a *yaka* while still a child. The arrow dance is clearly described and agrees with the dance we saw and photographed near Bendiyagalge, figures of which are given in Plate XXVI.

With regard to the spirits of the dead appearing in dreams and stating where game will be found, this, which is quite contradictory to our experience, has already been referred to on

[1] J. Bailey, *op. cit.* pp. 300—303.

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far as a leader can be said to exist, and he told us that he had learnt these invocations as a boy.

We regret that the names of our informants were not noted in every case in the following charms, but we give them where possible. The transliterations and translations of these charms as well as the comments on them are by Mr Parker who points out that the word *Ōn* occurring in a number of them is the Indian *Ōm*[1].

The first two charms are directed against bears.

Arini kurini, nāgu ṗatā gē ja kurē, jaḷ.

Venerable one of noble family (?). O Lord, born in a house in a rock-hole. Be off!

Mr Parker writes, "I do not know the meaning of the first two words of the spell, *arini kurini*. Probably *arini* is derived from *ārya* and the honorific ending *ni*, meaning 'the venerable one.' In that case the second word may be *kulīna*, 'of noble family,' and the whole translation would be as given. *Patā* for *ṗataka*, a hole, hollow or pool."

This charm was given us by Poromala of Bingoda who said he had known it a long time. Its meaning could not be ascertained in the field. The next charm was obtained from Tissahami, the Vedda Arachi, who said it had been used in his youth by the Kovil Vanamai Veddas.

Ōn Dahasak Budunnē kunu goḍen upan Nīla Kandigē baḍē upan Nīlāda Nīlida, nil, ṗō ādā, nil, ṗo adī, ṗoḷ.

Ōn! Born in the womb of Nīla (the blue-black) Kandī, born from the heap of filth of a thousand Buddhas (or sages), whether (you are) Nīlā or Nīlī (the blue-black one, m. or f.). Stop! Go thou (m.)! Stop! Go thou (f.). Be off!

The first part is ordinary Sinhalese; the orders to go are in Tamil.

1 "This word begins nearly all invocations, and it is stated in the *Vishnu Purāna* (Wilson, p. 273) that 'The syllable *Ōm* is defined to be the eternal monosyllabic Brahma.' On p. 274 Wilson adds (f. n.) 'The daily prayers of the Brahman commence with the formula *Ōm bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, suvar; Ōm*, earth, sky, heaven.'

"In the *Sacred Laws of the Āryas* (Bühler), I. 4, 6 (Aphorisms of Āpastamba) it is said 'The syllable "*Ōm*" is the door of heaven.' At I. 4, 8 also 'And in common life, at the occasion of ceremonies performed for the sake of welfare, the sentences shall be headed by this word, as, for instance, "(*Ōm*) an auspicious day!" "(*Ōm*) welfare."'

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Mr Parker writes, "This looks like a very modern spell. The speaker treats the bear contemptuously; but I cannot explain the reference to the sages. He wishes the bear to understand the very inferior position he occupies, in his opinion."

The next charm applies to the elephant.

Ōn! Aeri sinna wayirā naeri sinnā suwāgayā, namō. St.

Ōn! Excited (or strong) elephant, angry one, stout elephant. Salutation! homage! Be off!

We could obtain no satisfactory translation of this charm. Mr Parker writes, "The difficult words in this spell are *aeri* and *naeri*. Such spells as these almost always commence by applying honourable epithets to the animals, and therefore a probable derivation of the former word is from *airya* (Skt root *ir*), with the meaning 'excited,' 'aroused,' or from *iraya* 'strong.'

"*Naeri* is perhaps derived from *neriyanawā*, to grow stout or obese, although the change from *e* to *ae* is unusual. The translation would then be as above.

"*Sinna*, for *śṛiṅga*, a horn; compare *śṛiṅgin*, an elephant, derived from the same word.

"*Wayirawā*. This was translated in Ceylon as Bhairava, but the Sinhalese form for this deity is Bahirawā, and I prefer the meaning given above, from the Tamil *vayiram*, angry, and *avan*, he.

"*Suwāgayā* appears literally to mean 'may you go to heaven,' *swarga*; but compare *swāgata* 'salutation' from *suwa* and *agata*."

Mr De Zoysa gives the following charm as a protection against elephants but he does not give its origin.

Ichchata vallay
Pachchata vallay
Dela devallay
Situ appa situ.

A hanging member in front (trunk)
A hanging member behind (tail)
On two sides two hanging members (the two ears)
Stay, beast, stay!

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The next two charms were given by Tissahami the Vedda Arachi as protections against the leopard and the buffalo respectively. They were said to be in use at Bandaraduwa but owing to an oversight this statement was not verified.

Ōn! Sinhan Sivattha vedippulayā nam ata kata āru. Sī.

Ōn! O Lion, for the sake of Siva, if you are one who has escaped from shooting, may (your) foot and mouth be appeased. Be off!

The words of this charm are chiefly Tamil.

Sivattha from *Śiva* and *atthaṃ*, on account of.

Vedippulayā for *Veḍippiḷeiyār* (honorific) from *Veḍi* "a shot," and *piḷei* to escape from a danger.

Āru, v. *āṟu*, "to cool," "be appeased," "repose."

Sī for *isī*, an expression used in driving away cats.

Mr Parker points out that "remembrance of the danger from which he himself escaped is expected to cause the leopard to sympathise with and to spare the man."

Ōn. Nā Waeraelligē puṭā Rana Dēvatāwā Andungrī paruwatē waṭa indagena Kalugal rusiyāṭayi tō annē maṭa no weyi. Hōwu āḍā howu.

Ōn. Rana Devata, son of Nāga-Waeraelli (f.), thou shalt strike the Kalugal (Black-rock) Ascetic who sits on the Andun-giri (Black-hill) mountain; not me. Be off, be off!

Mr Parker does not know anything about the Rana Devata (Godling of Fighting) or his mother, or the Ascetic, but the charm suggests to him that the Devata is believed to inspire the buffalo to attack men.

Bailey gives the following charm against an animal called *okma* which he says is the wild boar, though Mr Parker considers that the *okma* is the buffalo and this view is also taken by Mr De Zoysa. We are inclined to agree with them and therefore quote this charm here.

Iri deyyannē ōkma
Sanda deyyannē ōkma
Pasē Budunnē ōkma
Situ ōkma situ

Okma of the Sun-god!
Okma of the Moon-god!
Okma of the Pase Budu!
Stay, *Okma*, stay!

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The great interest of this spell is that Bailey obtained it from the Nilgala Veddas over fifty years ago, and that he was able to trace the Sinhalese charm against toothache—from which it was derived.

Ira deyené æyā!
Sanda deyené æyā!
Passé Budunú æyā!
Daté nositoo dat æyā!
Worm of the sun-god!
Worm of the moon-god!
Worm of the Passe Buddha!
Stay not in the tooth, thou tooth-worm.

Bailey recognised the importance of this discovery, for he wrote, "These are identical; yet the Veddahs and the Sinhalese certainly do not associate so closely as to borrow one another's charms....The term okma I can get no satisfactory explanation of. It is not Sinhalese, certainly I assume it means 'wild boar,' and this is the charm to arrest a boar in the path; but it is not the term used by the Veddahs for a boar in ordinary conversation. The allusion to the Pase, or Pache Buddha, is curious as occurring in both....The other Veddah charms are, I believe, quite unlike those of the Sinhalese, but on that point I am still making enquiries...[1]."

The next two charms are against snakes and were obtained from Poromala (Walaha) of Henebedda and Poromala of Bingoda.

It is necessary for the efficacy of the first of these charms that a string of human hair be bound round the limb above the bite. The hand of the operator is then carried down the limb repeatedly as he mutters the charm, the thumb nail being flicked against the ground each time the hand has passed down the leg[2]. This is to drive the poison into the ground. The string of hair is not the purposeful beginning of rational treatment; we believe that it was not considered necessary to tie the hair

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 304.
There can be little doubt that this and similar charms crept into the beliefs of the wilder Veddas at the same time and in the same way as the *yaku* of village Veddas, e.g. Unapane Kiriamma, became known to the wilder Veddas.
[2] Snake bites in the jungle are invariably on the leg.

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string at all tightly and our informants were perfectly certain that the benefit derived from this treatment (which Poromala assured us he had seen succeed more than once) was due to the virtue of the hair of the head which might equally well be that of the snake's victim, or of any one else.

Namō. Nayin gini keḷtmi, polangun darana kaḷtmi, karawalu māḷu kaḷtmi, pansiyak sarpayin in aes gaesi, is gaesi, daḷa gaesū, wisa baesi maha polowaṭa dīswāhā.

Salutation! I set fire to cobras, I coil up (or split up) polongas (*Daboia russelli*), I make curry of karawilas (*Bungarus sp.*). From five hundred snakes the eyes are knocked out, the heads are beaten, the teeth are knocked out, and the poison is sent down to the earth. Ēswaha!

"*Namo* is a Pali expression, borrowed from Buddhist works etc. in which it takes the place occupied by *om* in India. It is derived from the Skt. root *nam*, to bend, bow etc.

"*Maḷu* is the colloquial word for curry; also for meat, but the latter word is not suitable here. The Sinhalese never say 'I made meat of' anything.

"*Deswaha* from *da*, the conjunction 'and' in combination with *ēswaha*. The last two words of the charm should be *polowaṭada ēswaha*."

Ahasaṭa guru kawuda guru? Aha(sa) ṭa guru ira sanda de guru.

Polawaṭa guru kawuda guru? Polawaṭa guru Mihikat devuru.

Nayinḍa guru kawuda guru? Nayiḍa guru Nāga guru.
Visṭṭa guru kawu(da) guru? Visṭṭa guru mamayi guru.
Visī basin tilō guru mātā. Me desī guruṇ anen yayi dīsī.
Poloṇ visī dāra visī. Tō nedana tō daesṭa kalī nam.
Man daena visa bannam, visī naeti baku Gurupprarāja yānam.
Ōn namō.

The preceptor of the sky, who is the preceptor?

The preceptor of the sky, the Sun and the Moon are the two preceptors.

The preceptor of the earth, who is the preceptor?

The preceptor of the earth, the great Goddess Mahikantawa is the preceptor.

And the preceptor of the cobras, who is the preceptor?

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The preceptor of the cobras, the Naga is the preceptor.
The preceptor of poison, who is the preceptor?
The preceptor to poison, I am the preceptor.

For casting down poison (there is) the mother of the teacher of the three worlds (Buddha).

The preceptor of this country will go to another country (after death).

The poison of Polangas is the limit of poison. If thou, not knowing (me), shouldst make (it) for (thy) two eyes, I will bind (on thee) the poisons which I know, going (afterwards, out of thy reach) to the excellent king of many *garuda*, who have no poison. *Ōn!* salutation!

"A *guru* is a teacher or preceptor, one who has complete knowledge of the subject. A student's teacher is his *guru*. The word is also especially used to indicate a Brahman who is thoroughly acquainted with the Vedas and the forms of religious ceremonies, and who acts as a king's chaplain. Brihaspati, the deity of the planet Jupiter, was the *guru* of the Gods[1].

"Mahikantawa is the Earth Goddess, or personification of the earth.

"*Nāga* are supernatural beings who take either a human form or that of cobras, at will. I think the reference to Mayā, the mother of Buddha, means that by bringing into the world such a son she has reduced the poison of evil deeds and thoughts, which are compared to those of the poisonous snakes. The poison of the polanga (*Daboia russelli*) is said to be the most powerful of all snake poisons. It is stated that persons sometimes die within five minutes after being bitten by this snake, and usually within half an hour. There is an idea that some snakes have the power of projecting poison from their eyes.

"The *garuda* is a fabulous bird which feeds on poisonous snakes, especially cobras."

We failed to obtain any coherent account of the meaning of

[1] In the *Ordinances of Manu* (Burnell's translation) ii, 1 and 2, it is stated "That Brahman is called Guru who performs according to rule the rites on conception and the like, and feeds (the child) with rice (for the first time)." At ii, 149 it is said, "He who confers the benefit of the Veda on anyone, be it little or be it much, he should know him to be here his Guru, by reason of that benefit through the Veda."

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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789 539 this charm in the field and are indebted to Mr Parker for the following explanation. "I think I understand the meaning of this invocation quite clearly. The reciter says 'As the Sun and Moon are the preceptors, or the beings or deities who have a complete knowledge of the sky; as Mahikantawa has complete knowledge of the earth; as Nagas have complete knowledge of cobras, so I have complete knowledge of all poisons.' He first wishes to impress the snake with a belief in his powers, and then he threatens it."

The next charm given by Poromala of Bingoda cures the bite of the centipede, but neither Poromala nor Tissahami the Vedda Arachi could tell us the meaning of the spell.

Nāngara guru, nāngara guru, nāngara potakun aeragena visakuṇ.
Man atu bindagena, rattaeyā pāgāgena, aeli moḍarā piṭa siṭagena, aṭ guruṇ sihikaragena, mama yannē visa bāgena, tō nedana tō daeṣṭa kalē nam maṇ daena visa baemnaṇ, eyin taekae(?) visē naeta baku Gurupprārāja yanam. Ōn namō!

Vile preceptors, vile preceptors, poisonous ones taking (with you) vile young ones!

I, breaking branches, trampling on the Centipede, sitting on the back of the White Peacock, reflecting on our preceptors, I will go (only after) casting out the poisons. If thou, not knowing (me), shouldst make (poison) for (thy) two eyes[1], I will bind (on thee) the poisons which I know, after (?) that going to the excellent king of many *garudas*, who have no poison. *Ōn*, Salutation!

"The centipede is here treated with much less respect than the vertebrates, and the last two words must be said ironically. The breaking of branches refers to the custom of making offerings of leafy twigs when asking for the protection of the forest Deities. I do not know the white peacock, *aeli monarā*. (The bird is sometimes colloquially called *moṇḍarā*.) It may be the peacock that is the riding animal or *vahana* of the God Skanda, which is carved at the Tanjore temple with a snake hanging from its bill. Peacocks kill centipedes as well as snakes.

"The preceptors on whom the exorcist reflects will be those mentioned in the spell for cobras—that is Buddha, the Sun and Moon, Mahikantawa, and the Nagas who are guardian deities. Possibly also Skanda and Ayiyanar, the Guardian Forest Deities

[1] Another reading is, If thou (even) unwittingly, hast made (poison) for (thy) two eyes.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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of the Sinhalese. I do not understand *taekae*, there may have been some mistake in writing down the charm."

Charms to Obtain Food.

Neither amulets nor verbal formulae are used to insure straight shooting or the killing of deer or sambar, the two animals providing the greater part of the flesh consumed by the Veddas; nor are there amulets or charms to obtain success in pig hunting. Doubtless this is because the *yaku* when properly invoked give success in these matters. There are, however, no *yaku* whose special business it is to give success in the monkey drives which are, or were until recently, practised, and we found that certain formulae were sung by the members of the driving party, and in some case muttered by the men who waited in ambush for the monkeys to be driven to them. And we were told that the singing or reciting of these formulae was necessary to the success of the drive.

Mr Parker uses the diminutive "doggie" in the translations of the two following charms collected at Bandaraduwa in order to retain the sense of the originals, which clearly indicates that the reciter is speaking coaxingly to the monkeys. The words of the charm are literally "dog" and "bitch," the use of which in the translation would give a wrong impression. In one charm the hunters call the monkeys to them assuring them that they are quite safe, for certainly they cannot shoot them.

Charm sung while driving Wandura monkeys (Bandaraduwa).

Ammā maya nā kolandāni
Kolandan kandē piṭa yanni
Ekī kiyalā innē kāṭē,
Ēkit awalā yaṇḍama yanni.
"Taek, taek," kiyalā wāren ballā.
"Kik, kik," kiyalā wāren baelli.
Nawini nāgan kandē piṭē,
Ēkiṭa dunnak widala kōdeyi
Ēkī yaṇḍama yaṇḍama yanni.
Keliyen keliyaṭa wāren ballā,
Keli madalāgena dewagena wāre.

Mother mine, the leaf-clad chief,
Pops behind a leafy trunk;

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Tells another who is there;
She, excited, runs away.
"Taak, taak," crying, doggie come;
"Kik, kik," crying, doggie come.
In the Na-tree forest hid,
Safe behind a banyan trunk,
With a bow she can't be shot,
Setting off to go, to go.
Playing, playing, doggie come.
Stop your games and running come.

Charm sung while driving Rilawa monkeys (Bandaraduwa).

Ammā māyē nā rōṭānī
Rōṭan kandē piṭa yannī
"Rō, Rō" kiyala wāren balla.
Burutak kandī piṭa yannā.
Keliyen koliyaṭa duwagana wāre,
Keli maḍalāgena duwagena wāre.

Mother mine, the lovely chief,
Pops behind a cotton trunk,
"Ro, Ro" crying, doggie come.
Behind a satin stem she goes.
Playing, playing, running come;
Stop your games and running come.

The Sinhalese heading of this charm, collected at Henebedda (where it was dictated by Poromala of Bingoda) runs *Wanduruṇ nawa tanaka wiya*, the translation of which is "said at a place where *wandura* stay."

Ātu surā damannī
Ō man handīṭa pāninnī.
"Ah, Oh," kiyā wārī nam
Kola surā damannī,
Mī man handī naṭannī.
Balā siṭa aṭi dennā?

The branches they scratch off and throw down,
They spring on to that trunk (?).
Come, indeed, saying "Ah, Oh."
They scratch off and throw down the leaves.
They dance on this trunk (?).
Why did they stop and look, both of them?

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We could find no trace of any ceremony having for its object the control of the supply of game and honey or the increase of the number of yams and edible berries. It is assumed that

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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these are beyond human control, though the *yaku*, who in an indefinite way are considered to be concerned with them, give success in hunting, yam digging and honey gathering.

Nor could we discover any trace of weather magic in spite of the preference for rain indicated in a number of the invocations given in Chapter X, as well as by the remark on this subject made by Handuna, quoted upon page 84.

We could not discover among the wilder Veddas any magic connected with the bow and arrow, and certainly these were never personified or named. We, however, obtained the following "song" from the village Veddas of Bintenne. It was taken down just as we were breaking camp and so no special attention was paid to it, as we were assured that it was of the same nature as other songs we had collected. Mr Parker, who has provided the following transliteration and translation, points out that, in his opinion, this "song" must be regarded as a charm said over an arrow in order to kill monitor lizards. To our suggestion that this song might be sung mockingly to a particularly bad shot, urging him to try again and see if he could not hit the lizard in some part of its body, Mr Parker replied that this did not seem probable to him. "If this were addressed to a person who was a bad shot I hardly think expressions would be used such as *i maela* which would then require to be translated 'younger brother of arrows.'" We accordingly treat this formula as a charm and include it in the present chapter.

Mundi Kanda pita wattiri gā,
Ehata widahā hiri kurā.
Ettama arupa i maelā,
Pitata accra palāgu.
Ettanama arupa i maelā,
Tommata lacchan (palāgu).
Ettama arupa i maelā,
Tommata accra palāgu.
Ettanama arupa i maelā,
Ballata lacchan palāgu.
Ettanama arupa i maelā,
Badata lacchan palāgu.
Ettanama arupa i maelā,
Kibila maeddan lavatāgu.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-8 (1907-1908) 1911
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Go and drop behind the body of the monitor lizard
Pierce it, dear cousin.
Leave that place, arrow-brother,
Go and cleave it in the angle (or edge) of the back.
Leave that place, arrow-brother,
Go and doubly (?) cleave it in the tail.
Leave that place, arrow-brother,
Go and cleave it in the angle of the tail.
Leave that place, arrow-brother,
Go and doubly (?) cleave it in the neck.
Leave that place, arrow-brother,
Go and doubly (?) cleave it in the stomach.
Leave that place, arrow-brother,
Go and fix (yourself) in the middle of the armpit.

"In order to rhyme all the lines ought to end in a long a.

"*Ettama* is an evident mistake for *etanama*.

"*Tomma* is for *tumba*, a Vaedi word for tail, the Sinhalese is *tuba*.

"*Accan* and *aeccan* are for *assan*, abl. of *assa*, angle or corner.

"*Laeffen* is a word I have not previously met with. The only probable derivation with which I am acquainted is the Tamil *iraṭṭa*, Sin. *reṭṭa*, double, two-fold.

"*Mandi* means younger brother.

"*Kiri hura*, lit. milk cousin, simply means dear cousin."

Love Charms.

922 Love magic or charms to compel love do not seem to exist among the wilder Veddas, though in the Bintenne we were told that women may charm the waist strings they give to their husbands, in order to ensure their fidelity.

Amulets.

301 Before discussing the existence of these it is necessary to determine to what extent the Veddas now wear, or formerly wore, ornaments.

Disregarding the stories current among the Sinhalese that the Veddas formerly had valuable jewellery and pots of pure gold—legends of which the Veddas themselves are quite

[errata — see p. xx. — Analyst]

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Nila exchanged the *amamula* for the *wila*, and coming to Mari again, raised the *wila* above her head and lowered it to the ground, letting the bast strips brush her face and body and then sweep the ground. This was done in order to wipe away the pain of labour. Then he leapt back to the centre of the cleared space and danced in and out between the three posts, hitting them with the *wila*. This was probably a sign of pleasure, for the driving away of *yaku* by striking their resting place would probably only take place at the end of the ceremony. He again approached Mari and fell back into the arms of his supporter, only remaining quiet for a few seconds until, trembling and gasping, he bent his head over the *usmukaliya* and buried his face in the bast. After doing this over each post he returned to the *usmukaliya* and said he must go, speaking in the usual husky and gasping *yaku* voice; then he fell exhausted into the arms of his supporter. All the Veddas now began to sing the invocation, and it was clear that the *yaku* had not departed from Nila for he soon began to quiver and gasp again, and sprang forward and danced between the three posts; then he began to search for something, lifting the strands of bast on the *usmukaliya*, and after an exaggerated pantomimic search he found the *wila*, turning this in his hands so that the bast swung at right angles, he waved it over each of the three posts; then turning to the *usmukaliya*, bent his head low over it and fell back exhausted. The *yaku* now left him and he recovered consciousness without any quivering or trembling, salaamed to the *usmukaliya* and sat down to rest. All the properties were immediately piled together under a tree. It may be noted that although Vela began to dance with Nila, he did not become possessed and so took no part in the latter portion of the dance.

After a short rest Nila went to the pile and holding a few strands of bast in one hand (Plate XLVI, fig. 2) repeated the following prayer to the Pata Yaku for his daughter's safety a number of times:—

Ané! mayé daruwata kisi antarāyak wenda apé mé wara.
Gala yanta denda ônas.

Ané! (May) any harm not happen to my child this time.
(You) must permit (her) to land (i.e. to escape from her sea of troubles).

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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forest near the hunter to make him believe that the game he is following has run away. 796 782 773

Bedi Holaman Vedda, the *yaka* who breaks sticks and causes dead branches to fall and so frighten game away.

Kili Mas Vedda, the *yaka* of the Vedda who cut up the animal whose flesh and blood were used at the first *avana*.

Polu Mas Vedda, who smoked part of the meat of this animal.

Melihi Vedda, the *yaka* who blinds hunters so that they cannot track the wounded game.

Ahuru Gahana Vedda, the Vedda who first snapped his fingers to call his dogs.

Ihurun Gahana Vedda, the Vedda who first whistled to his dogs to come hunting.

These eleven *yaku* are considered strong enough to kill folk and to send sickness; it appeared to us that the individuals of this group were not carefully differentiated but rather regarded as one power. [753]

The Korala of Bakiella who has already been mentioned said that a leaf cone (*goṭuwa*) containing blood was placed on a heap of leaves with flesh from the throat, tongue and ears of the kill and the whole offered to the 64,000 Maralu Yaku and 64,000 Kadawara Yaku. The leaf cone is a distinctly Sinhalese feature and the ceremony described by the Korala had become entirely Sinhalese in character. This is borne out by the invocation which was written down for us by the Korala. 796 782 177 539

Atu avanī lī dena mantraya Kaḍawara Rīri Yakaṭa Yakinniṭa.

Vīṭāla nuwara sīnāpoti bisawun wahansēge hradaya palā bihi unu Kaḍawēra Riri Yakshayā Yakshiniṭa atu awanak aetun koṭu awanak aetun, amu mas amu riri aetun.

Adat mama anḍagasā kaepa kera dennē. Mama yana issaraṭa rubera an munayak genādiṇ, ellē pāḍu kera dīlā, veḍī munē is(sara)ṭa kera dīla, amaren giyat (a) mareṇ piṭat wilā, marana paṭkera dīlā, waessī langaṭa mīden ennā wāgē, kambe kannweṭa magul asṭek baenda palikera wāge, ella pāḍu (ka) ra denḍa Kaḍawera Riri Yakshayā Yakshīgen warami.

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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"The invocation to Kaḍawara Rīri Yakā and Yakinī, when presenting blood in the shelter (made) of branches.

"There was (on a former occasion) an (open) shelter of branches, there was an enclosed shelter, there were fresh meat and fresh blood for the Kaḍawara Rīri Yakshayā and Yakshinī, who having guarded (?) the pool of the General Queen at Vētāla Nuwara (the Goblin city) became demons.

"To-day also having summoned (you) I present the (same) offering. Before I go I solicit from the Kaḍawara Rīri Yakshayā and Yakshinī that they will bring a head with beautiful horns (to me), that they will make good all deficiencies, make my shots unerring [lit. present (the game) before the point of the shot], should I get into difficulty that they will overcome it, decree that I shall kill (game), (enable me) to approach a calf (fem.) like the buffalo cow comes up (to it) [i.e. without alarming it], rope a lucky tusk-elephant to the post, as though defending it (?), and that they will make good all deficiencies."

The above transliteration and translation have been prepared by Mr Parker who points out that the written invocation is full of errors, and therefore difficult to translate, but it does not contain any "Vaedi expressions" and "only a few difficult words." We have consulted Mr Parker in the hope that he might be able to throw some light on the matter of the origin of the *avasa*, but although his remarks are in many ways interesting and suggestive, they do not really explain the origin of the ceremony, though he is inclined to agree with us that the ceremony is of Vedda origin[1].

[1] Mr Parker writes: "The Sinhalese have also some Vaedi Yakas though these have no connection with the eleven spirit yakas of your ceremony, who are chiefly protective. There are also 'Vaedi' Kadawara who are minor subordinates of the Kohomba (Margosa) demon or Yaka. *Kaḍawara* is a compound Tamil word meaning according to a story that was related to me both in Ceylon (N.C.P.) and at the Tanjore temple, 'the celestial who escaped' compression by Siva the Indian god, when he clasped in his embrace six others created by his wife, and thus made them into the Kataragam God Skanda, the Indian war God, called also Kanda Kumara, with six faces and twelve arms."

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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special dialect be employed while they are in the forest, they cannot expect to meet with any success in seeking honey, or hunting, or in avoiding dangerous animals.

"This dialect...consists of the employment of new words not only for animals but also for a few other nouns, and for verbs used to denote acts most commonly performed on such trips. In addition, all negative (that is, unlucky) modes of expression are totally debarred from use on such occasions, as well as the words meaning 'insufficient' and 'too much,' which are inauspicious as indicating dissatisfaction with the number or quantity to which they are applied."

Although in some instances the word used when addressing the *yaku* is not the precise word used by the same Veddas while hunting it is convenient, and we think reasonable, to regard the *yaku* language as a part of the *kaele basa*.

The only other linguistic feature of these invocations that requires comment is the abundant use of the adjective *ran* "golden." The significance of this in a particular and somewhat puzzling instance is discussed in a footnote to invocation No. XXI, so that it suffices here to record our belief that among the Veddas the expression is laudatory and is the equivalent of "excellent," "admirable." In invocations used while collecting honey the expression "jewelled" is used with almost equal freedom, e.g. "golden jewelled cord" in invocation No. XXVI, and is simply to be understood as a laudatory expression.

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INVOCATIONS TO THE NAE YAKU.

Sitala Wanniya.

I. *Āyu bōwā. Āyu bōwā. Nae koṭṭaewā*[1], *nae sīnāwā.*
Hudu hambā welaṭa aḍagaha dunnā kaewā bunnā.
Kisi waradak sitanna epā, apit kanawā bonawā.

Salutation! Salutation! Part of (our) relatives!
Multitude of relatives! Having called (you) at the (right) time (we) gave (you) white sambā (rice); (you) ate, (you) drank. Do not think any wrong (of us); we also eat (and) drink.

[1] *Koṭṭaewā* for *koṭṭāsaya*, a part, section.

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

Dambani.

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Our father who went to that world come to this world. Take the rice. Come quickly to place (for us) the sambar deer, to place the spotted deer. Take this betel leaf. Come very quickly. Come quickly my mother's people. Take the rice, take the rock honey, take the betel leaf. To place the sambar deer, to place the spotted deer, come very quickly.

"*Depaṭullan* from *depaṭa*, 'double' and *ulā*, 'point.' Rice is the grain with two points, not rounded like millet.

"*Mangacca* from *man*, 'path,' and *gassanawā*, 'to strike (with the feet),' hence to proceed in either direction, that is, to come or to go.

"*Kankunā boṭa*, 'the dirty-eared beast,' the sambar. The long ears of some animals are liable to become dirty inside with the wax, etc. and ticks often collect in them. Hence the application of the term 'the dirty-eared beast' to the sambar.

"*Kabaraya boṭa*, 'the spotted beast,' the axis.

"*Paengiri kola*, 'sour leaf,' may include any leaf of acid taste for chewing, but the expression is especially applied to betel, as in the *kaele basa*. The commonest word for 'sour' is *aembul* but *paengiri* is also often used.

"*Aenō kālāpiṇ* for *anna* (*aran*) *karāpan*, 'take.' In another invocation (No. IV) we have *aenō kālāññā*, 'I will make another's,' that is, 'I will present.'"

Godatalawa.

III. *Ayu bōwā! Mal paennaṭ wannā. Ada rakshāwak naṭ. Bis baṭurwa ada denṭa ōnaṭyi. Hatarak pā aettanṭa goyun allā denṭa ōnaṭyi. Eyin paeyin puzzā anguru mas yahaṇak eppu-kara dennayi. Ada rackums rakshāwa balī baendala denṭa ōnaṭyi.*

Salutation[1]! Driver away of Vaeddas[2]. Today (there is) no livelihood.

[1] Lit. may life be long.

[2] *Mal paennaṭ wannā.* "The word *mal* in another invocation of the *Naī Yaki* is evidently applied to the Vaeddas, and therefore there cannot be much doubt regarding the meaning, here and elsewhere, of the expression *mal paennaṭ wannā*, when

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Today you must give wild brinjal; you must allow the four-footed persons[1] to catch iguanas. Having roasted (part) of them in an hour[2], I will make and give (you an offering of) an altar (furnished with) meat (fried on) charcoal[3]. Today (you) must furnish (and) give protection (and) livelihood by (your) power.

Wellampelle.

IV. *Depaṭullan aeno kālāñña, paengiri kola aenō kālāñña, gal micciyak aenō kālāñña appalaye aettanna mori yānak aeno kālāñña. Kankunā mayē ekaṭa aenō kālāpa adana iti boṭa damā.*

I will present rice, I will present betel leaf, I will present rock honey, I will present an altar for the dead to (my) father's people. Make over as mine the sambar, having placed (for me) the wearing-spikes beast (i.e. the porcupine).

"*Aeno kālāñña* for *Anya karañña*, I will make another's, that is, I will present or make over.

"*Mori*, from root *mri* (Skt) to die.

"*Yānak* for *Yahanak*."

Godatalawa.

It was stated that the following invocation was said to determine whether the deceased had attained power as a *yaka*.

V. *Hāmaduruwō, Alut mal paennae wannā, haskam tiyenawā kaebae nam eka wal mandiyak wal marāgaṇa ena wēlāṭa maṭa gawara māgallek hambewenḍa ōnae. Mē unkiri daluwaṭa, mal paennae Wannā, eli bānawā.*

Lord, New Driver away of Vaeddas, if it be true that there are miracles[4], killing one wild iguana in the jungle at the time while coming I must meet with a sambar deer. (Be pleased) to drink[5], Driver away of Vaeddas, this young coconut[6].

applied to the spirit of the recent dead. Dr Seligmann learnt that the cave in which a Vaedda has died is avoided by his relatives as a residence for several years afterwards; and this appears to afford a satisfactory explanation of the expression."

[1] Dogs, a *hatē bāsa* term.

[2] The Sinhalese unit of time here translated "hour" has a duration of twenty minutes.

[3] Lit. charcoal meat altar.

[4] "The words *haskam tiyenawā kaebae nam* 'if it be true that there are miracles' were explained to Dr Seligmann as signifying 'if it is true that you have attained power (or become powerful) as a *yaka*.'"

[5] "*eli bānawā* means 'having thrown down (the throat), to swallow.' In the *hatē bāsa, boṭa bānawā*, which means 'to eat,' is literally 'having chopped, to swallow.'"

"*Unkiri daluwa* is 'the bud deficient in milk,' that is, the young coconut before the 'milk' is formed in it."

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Kalukalaeba.

VI. *Ayibō tamunnānsē rakshima rakshāwa lachchaṇa ōnae yana tarpaṭa ena tarpaṭa eben kiri dalu itireṇna wāgē maha maedē*[1] *wārakan ennā wāgē rakshima rakshāwa diyunu diyunu karala denna ōnae.*

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Hail. You must (cause us) to receive protection and means of support while going and returning. As the young shoot springs up from the eye (of the seed), as the south-west wind comes (causing) great delight, you must bestow two-fold two-fold protection and maintenance.

Bandaraduwa.

VII. *Willin mārāl nangī siṭī, gangin marāl nangī siṭī, pēliyen pēliyaṭa williṭa no bin no bin kiyannō. Ayiyō Deyyā.*

From the pool the Brahmany kite has risen, from the river the Brahmany kite has also risen, from line to line at the pool (i.e. flying round it in circles) saying "no place, no place." Alas! O God.

"*Māralu* is a *kaelē bāsa* word for the Brahmany kite. Its cry is said by villagers to be *no bin, no bin*, one meaning of which is 'improper,' which does not appear to be suitable in this invocation. 'There is no place for me now' seems to be the meaning. The spirit of the deceased is compared to the kite which is accustomed to circle round high above the water, uttering this cry."

Uniche.

VIII. *Pelaka nagā marāṇa gat, pelaka gangī marāṇa gat wiliṭa siṭagana no bin kiyālō.*

Wanni allapu dunu kaṇu ital simin simiṭat no bin kiyālō.

Me goḍanwala goḍa taraṇa mal kaḍanna kaḍanna mal aḍu wēlu.

Ayiyō, Deyiyā.

The part (? of the dead) whom the cobra killed, (and) the part whom the river killed, having said "(There is) no place (for us)," are stopping at the pool[2].

The bow-sticks (and) arrows[3] seized in the Wanni (the forest), having said "(There is) no place (for them," go) from boundary to boundary (? in other people's possession).

(Through) continuing to break, in these lands, the Vaeddas[4] that pass over the land, the Vaeddas[4] have diminished. Alas, God!

[1] *Maedē* is the genitive case of *mada*, "pleasure," "delight," "rejoicing."

[2] "The context may possibly imply that the spirits of those who die of snake-bite or drowning are left to fly about like the kites, as homeless shades, that is as *prēta*."

[3] "This doubtless refers to the bows and arrows of the deceased."

[4] "The word here translated Vaeddas usually means 'flowers.' It is however quite clear that it is also used to mean 'Vaeddas,' cf. invocation No. III."

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Bulugahaladena.

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IX. *Demaṭamali Demaṭamalā Koṭakaecci uccumbaye mākammā, uccumbaye mākappā depaṭullan ṕojja mālā weda māl ṕuccal toṕaṇṭa aenō kālae ut toṕaenut kaepallowu.*

Demaṭamali and Demaṭamalā, excellent Great Mother (and) excellent Great Father of Koṭakacciya, (we) having washed rice in a pot (and) having roasted meat shot with the arrow, may they be made over to you. Eat ye also.

"*Uccumbaye* for *usaba*, excellent.

"Kotakaecci appears to be the name of a place.

"*Poṕja* for *ṕocca*, pot.

"*Weda* for *vaidya* or *vidha*.

"*Māl* for *mālu*, meat.

"*Puccal* for *pulussalā*, roasted."

"Demaṭamali and Demaṭamalā are two flower names, which like numerous others in Sinhalese are used as personal names. Demaṭamalā means flower of the *demata* tree (*Gmelina asiatica*) the last vowel being lengthened by the addition of *a*, as is usual in personal names. Demaṭamali is simply the feminine form."

X. *Demaṭamali uccumbaye mā ammā, Demaṭamalā Koṭakaecci uccumbaye maha appa kankundwa, kabareya, hocca dikkā, mundi, ṕerumā, gayi lokka mā maeda aenō kalaṕa aena baccaṕa.*

Demaṭamali, excellent Great Mother, Demaṭamalā excellent Great Father of Koṭakacciya, make over (and) take (and) send down (to us) the sambar, the axis deer, the pig, the iguana (fem.), the large buffalo (?), (and beehives) inside trees hollow (and) large.

"*Hocca dikkā*, 'the long-snouted one.'

"*Mundi* is the fem. of *mundā*, the noosed one.

"*Perumā*. This word is doubtful. It has the form of a *kaelī bāsa* word like the others, and thus must be descriptive of the animal; it may mean 'the large Great one.'

"*Gayi*, pl. of *gā*, tree.

"The word for beehives, *maekikaeli gam*, has been omitted."

Sitala Wanniya.

XI. *Arō rajō Kaṕṕun selliya ṕeṕena, nillin anduru deyiyā Aluta Wanniyā, tamāgē kaṭaṕa taṭaṕi kanī kaḍukkan kanamaediran sī dilennaw kalanna durauna warew, Aluta Wanniyā.*

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782 539 Kapunselliya (Monkeys' Hill) appears (like) the king of health (?), the god dark with verdure, O New Wanniyā. The ear-rings made for his ears shine[1] like fire-flies. Come running to look (at it), O New Wanniyā.

Mr Parker writes: "This invocation is a poetical description of Monkeys' Hill, on which the fire-flies remind the reciter of shining ear-rings. The speaker of the invocation hopes by his glowing description to attract the 'new spirit.'" Our informants at Sitala Wanniya stated that Kapunselliya was a hill on the far side of Walimbagala (Friar's Hood) where their ancestors gathered honey. They said that the invocation first stated that Kapunselliya was dark, and they informed us that this was due to mist or fog. The invocation then appealed to the spirit invoked as "new Wanniya," asking that he should come running to see the ear-rings which had been prepared for his ears and which shone like fire-flies. In spite of the more practical appeal made to the *Nae Yaka* according to the Vedda version, this account coincides in essentials with Mr Parker's translation, since both agree that the object of the invocation is to attract the spirit of the deceased.

Dambani.

XII. *Urōgamat gama Aembulōgamat gama wē aeta kehelan watti, paela kehelan watti waetten de waetta kola wihuduwana parakkuwayi. Mē parakkuwa nilame nilā ē Kamburā galaṭa waedalā piluruwan pālā idinnā wēda.*

On some occasions (lit. from occasion to two occasions) in the wild plantain garden and the house (i.e. cultivated) plantain garden at both Urōgama village and Aembulōgama there is delay in the unfolding of the leaves. On account of this delay will the chief Nilā having proceeded to that Kamburā-gala, by the great amount of (his) skill cause the trees to fruit and the fruit to ripen?

We give this invocation with all reserve. As stated elsewhere in this volume the Dambani folk are village Veddas accustomed to parade their "wildness," and it was difficult to work with them, so that it is not improbable that this formula has really nothing to do with the *Nae Yaku*. These remarks apply equally to the following invocation (No. XIII). Mr Parker suggests the possibility that it implied "that as the chief Nilā could twice preserve the plantain trees he might have preserved the Vaeddas if he wished."

[1] "Wrongly put in the Imperative mood."

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XIII. *Acī nidina guṇa nadunu Ākaḷaḷi Devi visin tamā, polowa milihi haṭa guṇa nadunu polowa Mihihat Devi visin tamā, kiri boṇa wacchaṭa bonna nadunu Kandu Aḷut Devi visin tama.*

Sat mudā e diṭṭi siṭa me diṭṭa ennaṭa nalaḷi paḷiguṇa bo laḷi ena welimā, uḍa wiyan basnḍaguṇa waṭa wiyan basnḍaguṇa ennamo no weyi. Raṇ aṇḍuwa eḷin teraṇ aṭi elanu warā deva rodi aḷiguṇa ennama. Ehewan aḷlanu gawuruṇ aḷlan hoṭa dikkā aḷlanu ennā newi.

To take the hidden treasure of the sky is not permitted by the Goddess (*of* the sky) Ākāsakāḷā herself; on the earth to take the gems of the earth is not permitted by the Goddess of the earth, Mahikāntāwa herself; the milk drinking calf is not permitted to drink, by the new Goddess of the hill herself.

Are you coming from that country of the Seven Seas to this country, having split the forehead (i.e. made your appearance out of the forehead), and shaking violently at the very time when you come? You will not come (? unless we) have tied clothes overhead and have tied side cloths (at the shed or *maḍuwa*). Come and hold in your hand ornamental arches (*toraṇ*) in which is suspended a golden chain. You will come holding a divine wheel (?). Goat catchers, sambar deer catchers, pig catchers will not come (i.e. to ask your assistance on this occasion).

"*Acī* for *ākāsī*, in the sky.

"*Kaṭa* appears to equal *Kāntak*, a gem; or it is derived from the root *khan*, dig, excavate.

"*Wacca* for *wassā*, calf.

"*Aṇḍuwa* for *aṇḍu*, chain.

"*Rode* may be *rōdaya*, a wheel, but it does not occur elsewhere, and the meaning is doubtful.

"*Hoṭa dikkā*, 'long snout,' a *kaeḷī bāsa* word for pig."

With the possible exception of the reference to the "New Goddess of the Hill," which may refer to one of the Maha Yakini (Kiriammā), there is nothing in this invocation belonging to the Vedda form of belief, and we do not doubt that the whole formula has been taken over from foreign sources. Mr Parker writes that he has "no knowledge of Ākāsakāḷā, the Sky Goddess," but that "Mahi-kāntāwa is well known as the personification of the earth, literally 'Earth' (*mahi*), 'woman' (*kāntāwa*)."

The appearance of divine children by other means than birth *per vias naturales* is a common Hindu belief of which Mr Parker cites the following instances: "Ayiyanār, the son of Mōhini,

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an incarnation of Vishnu, is said in Ceylon and India to have appeared from Vishnu's hand.....there is the well known story of the production of the four castes from the body of Brahma[1]."

Henebedda.

The heading of this invocation *Paṭṭiwelaṭa Panikki Yakā makuṭa kiyana kavi* signifies "Song sung for the cattle herds to Panikki Yaka the Chief." The *yaka* invoked is the spirit of the sixteenth century chief Panikki Vedda, whose history is given in Chapter I. To some extent this invocation bridges the gap between the nameless *Nae Yaku* and the Vedda heroes, though it is obvious that the worship of Panikkia Yaka is allied to the *Baṇḍaru* cult to which we have alluded elsewhere. Our informants, however, did not regard Panikkia Yaka as a Baṇḍāra.

XIV. *Asa guru kapayi, Bola tōpā yāluwā.*
Polō guru kapayi, Bola tōpā yāluwā.
Gasannti sulanmayi, Bola tōpā yāluwā.
Igulennti pa(n)daralmayi, Bola tōpā yāluwā.

Kasā iraṭa piṭen iru kīndi ādinnawu ādinnawu,
Muna muna pārakkuda, Nīlami Nīlā?

Kuḍā naṛṇbi ralē naṛwatuṇ, bālaññada, bālannada?
Kudā naṛṇbi raṛlat koḍimayi, Bola tōpā yāluwā.
Mahā naṛṇbi raṛlē naṛwatuṇ bālaññada Bola tōpā yāluwā?
Madā naṛṇbi raṛlāt koḍi Bola tōpā yāluwā.

Dunna gatat sonda widaman, Panikkiyā.
Polla gatat sonda naṛwatuṇ, Panikkiyā.
Manda gatat sonda bandaman, Panikkiyā.
Ada mutawata eyi, Gombaru Panikkiya.

[1] This is given in the Purana as follows (Wilson's translation, p. 44): "Formerly, oh best of Brahmans, when the truth-meditating Brahma was desirous of creating the world, there sprang from his mouth beings specially endowed with the quality of goodness; others from his breast,...others from his thighs,...and others from his feet...."

The Vishnu Purana records (p. 30) that when Brahma found that his mind-born progeny were unsuitable for peopling the world, "he was filled with wrath capable of consuming the three worlds, the flame of which invested, like a garland, heaven, earth, and hell. Then from his forehead, darkened with angry frowns, sprang Rudra, radiant as the noon-tide sun, fierce, of vast bulk, and of a figure which was half male, half female."

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The sky is becoming purple, O thou Friend!
The earth is becoming purple, O thou Friend!
Blows even the wind also, O thou Friend!
Even the small birds are flying also, O thou Friend!

From behind the yellow sun, draw, draw the sun's rays.
What is the (reason of the) delay, Chief Nilā?

Shall I look, shall I look if a small heifer has stopped in the herd? (that is, is in the herd).
Even a small heifer is not in the herd, O thou Friend!
Shall I look if a large heifer has stopped in the herd, O thou Friend?
A large heifer is also not in the herd, O thou Friend!

Should he take the bow, he is able to shoot well, the Panikkiya.
Should he take the cudgel, he is good at stopping (the buffaloes), the Panikkiya.
Should he take the noose, he is able to tie well, the Panikkiya.
Today he will come here, the speckled Panikkiya.

Invocations to Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka.

With a single exception (No. XXIII) all these invocations are recited in order to procure game. No. XV was sung whilst dancing round an arrow struck in the ground as is described in Chapter IX. [224]

The remainder (with the exception of No. XXIII already noted) are sung at the *kirikoraha* ceremony. Although the invocations used at the *kirikoraha* ceremony present almost every stage of development, and some invocations such as Nos. XVIII and XXII are obviously composed of fragments belonging to different strata of belief, in every case the *yaku* called upon are the spirits of Kande Wanniya and his brother Bilindi.

No. XXIII is especially interesting, as it shows that such powerful foreign spirits as Riri Yaka and Indigollae Yaka when adopted into the Vedda system assumed Vedda characteristics, and so became subject to Kande Yaka.

Bandaraduwa.

XV. *Kandē sita Kandahaṭa nā kola andan*
Bē kola andan-tiala tanā
Sonda sonda gal gawarungē piyen piyana
Ōṭu yannē maya kandē mul pola Wanniyā.

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Having made arrow-heads of the shape of Nā leaves,
Of the shape of Bō leaves, from hill to hill,
From foot-(print) to foot-(print) of excellent sambar deer,
There (he) goes, my Wanniyā of the Chief Place of the hill.

Mr Parker explains that the "chief place of the hill" is its crest or summit, but in every case in which the expression *Kandē mul pola Wanniyā* occurred in an invocation our informants explained that the expression was one of the names of Kande Yaka, and they clearly regarded these words as constituting a proper name. *Wanniyā* is a common constituent of Vedda names, and has something of the significance of chief or leader. Mr Parker points out that it means "he of the Wanni" or "he of the forest track," and that it is a title given to Vedda chiefs in former times. Mr Parker considers this invocation important, [411] "since it shows that the arrow heads were of two shapes, a narrow one with nearly parallel sides (resembling the leaf of the *nā* tree or ironwood) like some Sinhalese arrows, and a broader one (resembling the *bō* leaf"). At the present day the heads of Vedda arrows are long and relatively narrow, that is, roughly of the shape of a leaf of the *nā* tree. We have not seen any arrow heads whose shape recalled the leaf of the *bō* tree.

Invocation to Kande Yaka at the Kirikoraha Ceremony.

Sitala Wanniya.

XVI. *Kandaka siṭa kandahaṭa yanna yanna kandu nirindu wasi wasinnaw. Rēranné damaṇé siṭa kandé damanēṭa sonda sonda gal-gewa-ruṇut piyen piya kurippi alayanna kandē mul pala Wanniyā.*

King of the Hills, who continues to go from hill to hill, cause rain[1]. (He is) the Wanniyā of the Chief place of the hill, who causes to fall the hoofs of excellent sambar deer, from foot (print) to foot (print), from Rēranné Damané (the grass plain of teals) to Kandé Damané (the grass plain of the hill)[2].

"*Nirindu* from *nara* and *indra*, a poetical expression meaning 'chief of men.' It is never used colloquially by Sinhalese.

"*Kurippi* = *kuṛippu* (Tamil) 'mark,' 'traces.'"

[1] "Lit. rain rain."

[2] "These names signify respectively 'the grass plain of the teal' and 'the grass plain of the hill.' Dr Seligmann was told that these hills teemed with game though on inquiry it appeared that no man had visited them or knew their situation."

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Invocation to Kande Yaka at the Kirikoraha Ceremony.

Uniche.

XVII. *Mī kande piṭa yanna yanna mī kandī muḷa pola Wanniyayi. Mī guru pāṭa mīṭi pada wasṭī wahinna wahinna konda konda māgallanni piyen āṭī iṭā yanni kandiṭ muḷa pola Wanniya.*

It is the Wanniyā of the chief place (crest) of this hill who continues to go onto this hill. The Wanniyā of the chief place of the hill, who continues to cause (lit. to rain) this rain of great drops, drops from a dense (cloud), makes out foot-print by foot-(print) of excellent sambar deer.

Invocation to Bilindi Yaka at Kirikoraha Ceremony.

Sitala Wanniya.

XVIII. *An aṭī diṭī nan nasṭī gōṇā aṭin alla dena saṭī Bilindi Raja. Tandena tānina tāna tandena tānina. Masā māyā mudu maeddī e ran koḷiyahi suwaminī.*

Like (one) catching with (his) hand and giving the nameless sambar deer in the country where there are horns, (is) King Bilindi. Tandena tānina tāna tandena tānine. There is a golden flag in the midst of the sea full of fish, O Lord!

We consider that this invocation is certainly corrupt; further there can be no doubt that it should refer to an unnamed country and a horned sambar, as in invocation No. XXII, where, as pointed out by Mr Parker, the "unnamed country" is the applicant's own country which it was unnecessary for him to name.

Dedication of flesh and rice to Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka[1].

Henebedda.

XIX. *Āyibōwō, āyibōwō. Kandī kaṭa kaṭ kaṭṭuwakaṭa nāyakawō Kandī muḷaḷa akut deyiyannānshīṭa Kandī Wanniyāṭa; Kan Mīran Wanniyāṭa, Mīraṇ akut deyiyannānshīṭa; Dalumura Wanniyāṭa, Dalumura*

[1] This was recited at Henebedda over the food the dedication of which we have described on p. 220. Plate XXVIII, fig. 2 is a reproduction of a photograph taken while the shaman dedicated the food.

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alut dəṭiyannāmshēṭa; Ru aḍukku Wanniyāṭa, Ru aḍukku alut dəṭiyannāmshēṭa; Bilindi Wanniyāṭa, Bilindi alut dəṭiyannāmshēṭa. Adat man mē eppu karadena ru aḍukkuwaṭa tamunnāmsila tharen weḍiyaren bohōmaren ḍiyāmaren diwas karunā karagena mē daḍa wacaddāṭa asli gawarun̆ gal gawarun̆ atin allā di tmunṭa weḍimun̆ awu karawā dunḍa yahapoti. Āyibōwō, āyibōwō.

Long life, long life to Kandē Wanniyā, to the new god of the chief place of the hill who has become the chief of the Group of the Sixty-Seven of the Hill; to Kan Mīran Wanniyā, to the new god Mīran; to Dalumura Wanniyā, to the new god Dalumura; to Ru aḍukku Wanniyā, to the new god Ru aḍukku; to Daḍayan Wanniyā, to the new god Daḍayan; to Bilindi Wanniyā, to the new god Bilindi.

Today, also, granting your divine favour to the beautiful cooked food of this offering which I give, as quickly as an arrow, as quickly as a gunshot, as quickly as an egret, as quickly as flying, having caught with the hand and given to this hunting Vaedda axis deer and sambar, may it seem good (to you) to arrange them at the point of the arrow, at the point of the gun-shot, and give (them there). Long life, long life!

"The 'Group of the Sixty-seven,' the *Haṭa-hat Kaṭṭuwa*, is well-known in the North-western Province. These are nearly all Baṇḍāra or deified chiefs. Though still called 'the Sixty-seven,' their number is now well over a hundred.

"Kan Mīran Wanniyā and his three associates are the subordinates or the attendants on Kandē Yaka. I cannot explain the duties of Kan Mīran Wanniyā; Dalumura Wanniyā is the one who presents Kande Yakā with betel; Ru Aḍukku Wanniyā presents him with cooked food, and Dadayan Wanniyā kills game for him.

"*Weḍi* is the word always used for a gun-shot by Sinhalese and Tamils; also for the explosion of the charge when blasting."

Godatalawa.

XX. *Hat Bilindivaṭawa anguru mas yahana balāgalla.*
Kandē Wanniyā anguru mas yahana balāgalla.
Dalumuru Wanniyā anguru mas yahana balāgalla.
Puluṭṭā anguru mas yahana balāgalla.
Riddē Wanniyā anguru mas yahana balāgalla.

Seven Bilindi godlings, look at the altar of meat (fried on) charcoal.
Kandē Wanniyā, look at the altar of meat (fried on) charcoal.
Dalumura Wanniyā, look at the altar of meat (fried on) charcoal.
Puluṭṭā, look at the altar of meat (fried on) charcoal.
Riddē Wanniyā, look at the altar of meat (fried on) charcoal.

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This formula was given us by an old man Handuna of Godatalawa, both as a dedication of food to Kande Yaka, and an invocation asking for game. We cannot explain the expression *Hāt Bilindīvatāwā*; to Handuna it was a synonym for Bilindi, and he assured us that the first line was addressed to Bilindi Yaka. Mr Parker points out that Puluṭṭā may mean "fried meat Wanniyā" and Riddē Wanniyā, "the Wanniyā who caused pain." If this be so Puluṭṭā must be regarded as the Wanniya who fried meat for Kande Yaka[1]. We can offer no suggestion as to the significance of the expression "the Wanniyā who caused pain."

Invocation to Bilindi Yaka at the Kirikoraha Ceremony.

Henebedda.

Sung while the shaman dances with a coconut and *aude* as shown in Plate XXIX, figs. 1 and 2.

XXI. *Tundana, tānina, tāna tandna; tandana tānina tānina.*
Appuga wayasai bosē wul(rī)di nati, sāt awuruddayi pasu vitē.
Sat awuruddiya vitē wela gos e ran Bandāra, Sāmiņi.
Tundana tānina tāna tandna; tandana tānina tānina.

Appuvamiņa wiyapu hattiya piyun dāsayi, Sāmiņi.
Appuvamiņa wiyapu puruvē piyun dāsayi, Sāmiņi.
Elawai kiru mā asudapu hattiya atma ganga vali vihidumē.
Tundana tānina tāna tandna; tandana tānina tānina.

Kavi kiyandai bayi kiri mapu, udahasak wai vida? ayiyē!
Nan nati hadāi an asti gāna āten alla dena Sawāmi.
Kanda upin dasun sulan nillapu varuvat handalen tena mina.
Kusu upan mahma malayē vasiruvē mama tanihamapuda, Nayidi
Kusu upan mahi malayai asurugena sellan karapan, Nayidi
An asti gawara alla dena hāti Maanih-talavē Bilindi deviyā.

Tundana etc.
The age of the Chief's Son was not many years; seven years had gone by.
A time equal to seven years having gone (he became) the Forest Chief, O Lord.
Tundana etc.

[1] There is another possibility: on the analogy of the *avasa* ceremony described at the end of this chapter it may be suggested that Puluṭṭā was held to be the first Veddā to offer fried meat at this ceremony. We do not consider this probable however.

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There were a thousand flowers on the cloth woven for the Chief's Son, O Lord!
There were a thousand flowers on the seat plaited for the Chief's Son, O Lord!
The cloth he wore, worked with *dämal* flowers and the parrot (?), like the waves of the river is spread out.
Tauḍans etc.
Through fear I cannot sing songs (properly). Will there be any anger (on account of it)? Alas!
The (rain) wind which he sent down from above the hill to the verdure is wetting with tears the face
(Of) the Lord who in the nameless jungle catches with his hands and gives the sambar deer possessing horns.
For what (fear of) solitude did (you) kill your own younger brother born of the same mother, O Nayidē?
Taking your younger brother born of the same mother play games (with him), O Nayidē.
(Addressing Bilindi) You are able to catch and give sambar deer possessing horns, O God Bilindi of Maenik-talāwa.

The words *ran Baṇḍāra* which are here translated Forest Chief might also mean Golden Chief. As already stated it appears to us that in the majority of these invocations the adjective "golden" is used to signify "excellent" or "admirable," but concerning this Mr Parker writes:

"*Ran* as an adjective almost always means 'golden,' but in such a case ought to be spelt with *ṇ*. I inserted preferentially 'Forest' in this case, as there is no reason given why he should suddenly become golden. I should generally understand 'golden' to mean 'of a golden nature or colour'; I do not think it would ever be applied to a person or deity who is dark coloured, however excellent he might be. I have heard a path termed 'like gold' by way of emphasising its excellence, but it is very unusual to employ it with this meaning."

In spite of the weight that must be attached to Mr Parker's opinion we do not agree with him in this matter, and in support of our opinion adduce the expression "golden jewelled cord" in invocation No. XXVI. We may also mention that in the invocation to Kosgama Baṇḍāra, the hero's corpse is described as "golden[1]."

[1] Cf. *Man.*, 1909, where is given the translation of the invocation used in calling upon Kosgama for assistance.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Mr Parker points out that in line 7 *mā* may stand for *mahā* or *massā*, sewn. Line 12 may be understood in two ways according to whether we read "For what (fear of) solitude," etc., or "For what need of solitude," etc. According to one account Kande Yaka killed his younger brother Bilindi because he felt lonely as a *yaka* and yearned for his company. This was the legend we heard at Henebedda, but another version makes Kande Wanniya kill his infant brother in a fit of temper because Bilindi being hungry annoyed him by constant whining. The thirteenth line, in which Kande Yaka is addressed as Nayidē, suggests that the Henebedda version of the legend is here referred to in the preceding line. We were told that Nayidē was here used as a name for Kande Yaka but could not discover the reason for this. Mr Parker points out that in Sinhalese *nayidā* simply means artificer.

Invocation to Bilindi Yaka at the Kirikoraha Ceremony.

Uniche.

XXII. *Kapā maṇik gal obā, bāpaṭa lela-diṭi tamā, ela kirälā aṇdapu kacciya sīma raṭiṗaṭa viki-dunā. Appugi[1] wayasat bohō kalak aṭi tun aṇuruddayi pasu wunā. Nan naṭi deṭi, an aṭi giṇā allā denawada Bilindi Rajā.*

Having cut the Gem-rock thereby himself removing the command (regarding it), like the folds of the waves are spread out is the bleached cloth he wore. It will be a long time since three years of the Chief's son's age passed. In the unnamed country will you catch and give a sambar deer with horns, King Bilindi?

This invocation obviously consists of two parts, embodying ideas belonging to very different strata of thought. The last sentence requires no more than a reference to invocation No. XVIII, to explain "the unnamed country." The sentence before this refers to the belief that Bilindi was three years old when Kande Yaka killed him. Probably these two sentences belong to the same stratum of belief, and certainly the Veddas understood what they meant. It was otherwise with regard to the first part of this invocation, our informants could not tell

[1] Appu for Appuhāmi, the former title of the son of a chief.

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us what this meant or even translate it, though our interpreter stated that he thought it had something to do with the dress of the *yaka*. Clearly this part of the invocation is foreign, and Mr Parker suggests that since Bilindi means "the child" there is "a possibility that he is Ayiyanār, the guardian Forest Deity of Ceylon, who is represented at Tanjore as a youth. Bilindi is said by Nevill to be the son of the (Indigollaewa) Kiri Amma, who is identified by the Sinhalese as Mohini, a female personification of Vishnu; and Ayiyanār is the son of Mohini." This is supported by the reference to the Gem-rock, for as Mr Parker writes "the Kiri Amma split the sapphire gem at the sapphire mountain." Thus in the later part of the invocation, Ayiyanār may have been assimilated to Bilindi Yaka.

Invocation with bow to determine what Yaka has caused illness.

Sitala Wanniya.

XXIII. *Ayibōwā, ayibōwā. Tunmankaḍa suwāmin wahansa gul pōnata, duru pōnaṭa, suba pōnaṭa aku karala deṇḍa ōnae. Mayē pōnaṭa eṇḍa ōnae. Kandē Wanniyā boru pōna at-kaera iṛḍa kala yakā maṭa aḍa aku karawaṇḍa ōnae. Riri Yakā Indilegolle Yakā, Rāhu Yakun, Paṭṭa Yakun, mē suba pōnaṭai aku karala deṇḍa ōnai.*

Long life! Long life! Lord of Tamankaduwa, through (my) stones' soothsaying, through bows' soothsaying, through auspicious soothsaying, (you) must catch and give (him). Through my soothsaying, (he) must come. Kande Wanniya, having laid aside false soothsaying, (you) must cause me to seize today the Yaka who caused the sickness. (Whether) Riri Yaka, Indilegolle Yaka[1], Rahu Yaku, or Patta Yaku, through this auspicious soothsaying (you) must seize and give (him).

Riri Yakā or Siri Yakā is the blood demon of the Sinhalese. The Rahu Yaku appear to correspond to the Sinhalese demon Rahu Yaka[2]. We consider this invocation important as it definitely expresses what we found to be the general opinion among the

[1] Clearly a slip for Indigollae Yaka.

[2] He was originally an Asura who surreptitiously drank some of the ambrosia produced by the Gods and Demons. Mohini cut off his head, but it had become immortal and was transformed into the planetary sign (personified) which causes eclipses by trying to swallow the sun and moon because they drew the attention of Mohini to him. For the substance of this note we are indebted to Mr Parker.

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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wilder Veddas. Kande Yaka is called upon to help, he is the spirit of a dead Vedda, one of themselves, and would never be suspected of sending sickness. It is only the stranger who brings evil things. But Kande Yaka is more powerful than the foreign *yaku* and by his help it is discovered which of them has caused sickness. In the field we found reason to believe that Indigollae Yaka and Riri Yaka and the Rahu Yaku were foreign in origin, we did not however suspect Patta Yaka, but Mr Parker says, "The Patta Yaku are diseases personified, and are male and female. The Sinhalese enumerate twelve or eighteen called Garā (m.) or Girī (f.); of these two are Paṭṭa Garā and Paṭṭa Girī. They especially afflict women and children."

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Invocations used while collecting Honey.

Godatalawa.

XXIV. *Alut divi kumudurwō, mahiheli gamak penanin ānal ada. Kapala kangaṭi yaṭṭēm.*

Lady New Goddess, (you) must show (me) a bee-hive today. Having chopped (it out) I will hide (it) and go.

Mr Parker suggests that the honey gatherer "hints to the Goddess that he and she will divide the honey between them, unknown to the other Vaeddas and that thus she will obtain a larger share than usual." This would be quite contrary to Vedda ethics, and it seems to us more probable that the honey is hidden in order to prevent the bees carrying it away. The gatherer might well be fatigued after his exertions and would certainly not attempt to rest in the immediate neighbourhood of the bees he had robbed, nor would he leave the honey exposed where it would attract the bees.

Unuwatura Bubula.

XXIV a. *Raja Ommegalliyō*
Mī gaswuwa Ammā.
Guru kalē vahiyā
Mī waruwal kapāla hannalē
Dum paliyan pannalē
Kapawuwa kapāla

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Paliyaṭa damalā
Mirus miriya ṭaeni geṇaedin
Geṇen geṇen baḍagiṇi
Aerenna kanna.

O Omungalla Sovereign!
Mother—by this respect (paid to you)—
Who protects (us) by (your) great authority!
Having cut and lowered the (ladder of) great cane,
Having driven off (the bees) by the shield of smoke,
Having cut (the comb) with the sword,
Having put (it) down into the vessel,
Having fetched the sweetest honey[1]. Bring (it),
Bring (it) (for us) to eat, to lay aside (our) hunger.

Nevill has recorded a very similar invocation which he obtained from a Vedda of Walimbagala (Friar's Hood)[2]. He also records the following invocation which was given him by a Vedda of Omuni.

Maehi-keli Waniyā
Gal naewili Waniyā
Maehi kelanne maehi urāl
Hinā-maten keli kōpayen
Oppu ganawā tobā deyiyen.

Bee Wanniya,
Wanniya of rock worship!
(Of) the honey-comb of the bees,
Laughing at the anger of the bees,
Be pleased to take the offering,
O thou from the Gods!

The above translation has been prepared by Mr Parker and is rather more literal than either of Nevill's translations, for he gives two. That printed below shows "the sense that the construction and words of this invocation convey" to a Vedda

"Oh Lord of the Bees!
Oh Lord of the Rock!
Honeycombs of honey bee,
With laughter and with merriness,
I offer them to Thee."

[1] Or "sweet honey like toddy."
[2] *Op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 187.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Nevill records that "after each line" his informant "threw a little honey, the first cut from the cliff, to the Spirit of the Rock, and then proceeded to take the rest of the combs. He told me it was an ancient custom his ancestors followed, called 'paeni adina yadinda,' or to 'charm the drawing of honey.'"

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Henebedda.

XXV. *Bori, Bori, Wanniyē.*

Nilwan pāliya neden kiyā, ē kimaṭa kāṭū ipal wēlen gācā widiñāyi kiyā daelen daelaṭa. Aendun waeṭi enni māyē kumala Wanniyē.

Ehē mōkat kōdeyi kiyā, daelen daelaṭa katu ipal gāsā widinnī widinnī.

Diya aendūn waeṭigena yanḍōmō yannī nan yannī.

Mal aendun waeṭigena yanni nan yannī.

Guru aendun waeṭigena yanḍōmō yannī nam yannī.

Ela aendun waeṭigena yanḍōmō yannī nam yannī.

Aenga wāṭī baendīgena yanḍōmō yannī nam yannī.

The translation of the heading of this invocation is "Stanza said by Veddas when cutting *bambara* on a hill or tree."

(Their sound is) *bori, bori,* O Wanniya[1]!

When (I) said[2], "(I) will not give (you) the dark-coloured vessel[3]" (containing the honey), at that remark company by company (of bees) said, "From (this) time, having beaten (you as if with) thorny rods, (we) will pierce" (you with our stings). (My) clothes are falling off (on account of the stinging), O my dear Wanniya!

When (I) said "There is nothing in it" (the vessel), company by company (of bees) having beaten (me as if with) thorny rods are piercing, are piercing (me with their stings).

(My) watered clothes (i.e. cloth with waved pattern) falling off, (I) am indeed setting off to go, (I) am going.

(My) flowered clothes falling off, I am indeed going, I am going.

(My) dark clothes falling off, I am indeed setting off to go, I am going.

(My) white clothes falling off, I am indeed setting off to go, I am going.

Tying (the clothes) round (my) body I am indeed setting off to go, I am going.

"*Maligi* is presumably *māliṅi*, a form of stanza.

[1] *Bori, bori* is onomatopoeic of the humming of bees.

[2] Lit. "having said."

[3] Mr Parker considers that *nilwan paliya* should be translated "blue-coloured" but that it may also mean "black" or "dark-coloured." As the result of our examination of the colour sense and colour names of the Veddas detailed in Chapter XIV we are convinced that in the present instance "dark-coloured" is the correct reading.

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"*Pilliya*, a vessel. The word occurs with this meaning in another invocation.

"*Kusuma*, that is *kusumala*, tender.

"*Yanaluwa yanni* for *yanaluwa yanni*, a common expression in Sinhalese.

"*Aeudun* (properly *aeudum*), 'clothes,' is in the plural, and means much more than a loin cloth. A European's dress—the various articles collectively—is called *aeudum*.

"*Guru* often applied to a purple sky may also mean 'excellent'; perhaps it might here mean dark."

This is one of the invocations of which we obtained no satisfactory translation in the field. Mr Parker holds that "the whole invocation is devoted to explaining to the Wanniya the suppliant's urgent need of his assistance, without which he will be compelled to abandon the work."

We consider it far more probable that the honey collector is essentially talking at the bees while apparently talking to the Wanniya and his companions at the top of the crag[1]. While helping himself to the honey he explains—for the benefit of the bees—that having heard their determination to sting him, he was hurrying away in such haste that his clothes are falling from him, notwithstanding that he has told the bees that there is nothing, i.e. no honey, in his collecting pot.

Invocation before taking Bambara honey, sung by a man as he is lowered over the cliff.

Bandaraduwa.

XXVI. *Toba deyiyani, toba deyiyani, alut mala upan narwini sinawa hitin, hamadiyen, machihellanni machi ural eepu aeragana, issara aki machicci alut mala upan narwini sinawa, pasai aki machicci mala upan narwini sinawa, machihellan amma appa wage hella, mi ran mini hendaja diva diwas pala, toba deyyani, toba deyyani, toba deyyani.*

Ara maya, ara maya, aluta Wanni Hurun, daelen daelaja katu ipal gasi yanni, aluta Wanni Huruniyi.

[1] There is nothing to show who is the Wanniya addressed. If—as appears certain—the honey gatherer speaks to another Vedda on the cliff above him, this formula scarcely comes under the heading of this chapter (Invocations), but it is undoubtedly convenient to keep this with the other invocations sung while collecting honey.

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Ara maya, ara maya, tellun bāḍe nangē pāḍama kawudat aḍun paḍun kādeyi kiyalā, tiṭa karaṭa piṭin diwē yannē, āluta Wanni Hurunyē.

You Gods, You Gods! By the good will and superiority (?) of the newly dead and reborn new host (of spirits), taking (these) offerings of honey-comb of the bees, you who may be the first destroyed of the newly dead and reborn new host (of spirits), and) you who may be the subsequently destroyed of the newly dead and reborn new host (of spirits),—having caused the bees to sport (round me) like a mother or father, protect this golden jewelled cord (i.e. the ladder of creepers) by (your) divine eyes, you Gods, you Gods.

That (honey) is mine, that is mine, New Wanni Lords. Company by company, (as if with) thorny rods, (you) keep beating (me), O New Wanni Lords (i.e. the bees).

That (honey) is mine, that is mine. (Regarding your) hard (or excessive) blows on the very feet that ascended (the ladder of creepers), no one having said there are deficiencies, (yet) you are going running from my back to my head and neck, O New Wanni Lords (i.e. to give still more blows or stings).

"This invocation contains several expressions not met with previously, and I can only give doubtful translations of part of it.

"*Nawini* probably *nawīna*, 'fresh' or 'new.' I think it has nothing to do with *nāṭ wenawā*, to become a relative, the first word of which is always pronounced with a long vowel by both Vaeddas and Sinhalese.

"*Hamādiya*, from *sasma* 'all' and *ādiya* 'first,' or *ādika* 'great.'

"*Oṭpu* for *oppu*, proofs, evidence; but used by Vaeddas and Wanniyas for offering.

"*Maskicca*, from v. *makanawā*, 'to obliterate,' 'to destroy.'

"*Kella*, from v. *kelinawā*, 'to sport.'

"*Aeki* for *haeki*, possible.

"*Ara maya* is unlikely to be *asruma*, verbal noun of *arinawā*, 'to leave,' or 'to let go.'

'*Tellun*, pl. of *taelluma*, v. noun of *talanawā*, 'to beat.'

"*Bādē* may be *bāḍa*, 'hard,' 'solid' or *bāḍhā*, 'promise' or 'much,' 'excessive.'

"*Aḍun paḍun*, pl. of *aḍupāḍuwa*, 'deficiency.'

"*Kādeyi* means 'it is not,' or 'there is not,' from *kaḍawa*, 'not.' In the last paragraph of this invocation the negative is expressed thus: 'some having said there are not deficiencies.'"

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This is one of the invocations of which we could only obtain an explanation in part, but luckily our informants were perfectly clear as to the meaning they attached to the first part of the invocation, and we feel confident that the following lines give the significance attached by them to this part of this invocation.

You spirits, you spirits of the recently dead and of the old dead, you *nae* (relative) spirits, take this offering of honey comb and protect me as a father and mother. Protect this rope.

Concerning the word *upan* which in this invocation Mr Parker translates "reborn," this authority writes, "*Upan* which I have translated reborn, literally means 'born'; but the other word more correctly expresses the meaning....The view I should take of the matter is that the person died and was buried. Then when the Vaeddas find him or his spirit in existence again they term it a re-birth in the world of spirits. This kind of expression is common in Buddhism; compare *kelawara devlowa upannēya*, 'he was (re)born in the final god-world' (Dhātuvansa)."

Although the Veddas of Bandaraduwa have come very much under foreign influence we feel convinced that they have no such carefully formulated ideas of re-birth as Mr Parker suggests, and we believe that the words of the invocation and the significance that the Veddas attach to it, can be harmonized without doing violence to Vedda modes of religious thought, by considering the translation as being from the comparatively unimportant *preta* to the full powered *yaka*, though as pointed out by Mr Parker, this would not be re-birth in the usual Sinhalese (Buddhist) sense.

With regard to the expression *nāē* (relative) spirits in the Vedda version, Mr Parker writes: "If *naewini* were a mistake for *nāē wena*, the translation of the first part after 'Gods' would be, 'By the goodwill and superiority of the newly dead and *reborn host who are becoming* (*our*) *relatives*.'" The words in italics indicate only the meaning of the words *alut mala upan naewini sēnāwa*.

Nāe wena sēnāwa is *nāē*, "kinsfolk," *wena*, "becoming," and *sēnāwa*, "host," "multitude."

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Invocations to Bambura Yaka.

The invocations to Bambura Yaka are the most puzzling of all those we collected. None of our informants understood them and the translations given were fragmentary, or else we were told that although the words of the sentences could be translated so as to make some sort of sense, the significance of the invocation was unknown, or if appreciated did not necessarily agree with the meaning of the literal translation. Further, although it is certain that Bambura Yaka especially gives success in searching for yams and hunting pig, Mr Parker's translations make it quite certain that these invocations really apply to honey collecting. The reference to the "golden creeper," i.e. the ladder made of jungle creepers and used in taking honey, lowered across the face of the Inginiya rock makes this certain. Nevertheless both at Sitala Wanniya and Uniche, invocations with these expressions in them were recited as invocations to Bambura Yaka to send pig, and none of our informants regarded Bambura Yaka as having anything to do with honey. It may be suggested tentatively that the resemblance in sound of Bambura the home of the *yaka* and *bambara*, the word for the rock bee, may have brought about this confusion.

Sitala Wanniya.

XXVII. *Mē mage Bamburaṇi, Bamburaṇi. Magē Bamburō bat kaddī nāḷow nāḷow gala gala suniyaniyē.*

Mē mata muratala goḍu maḍini maḷubat kāpu kaḷaja sindu dendō kapa no kiyandō. Mē kuḷā Inginiyā galaja kāpu rav wasala galat gala gala mē wara waeṭi golō.

This is my Bamburā, Bamburā. While my Bamburā is eating rice make a sound, make a sound, "gala, gala"—save, save (him)—by magic.

At this very instant destroying the mounds (on the face of the rock) be pleased to give to the mouth that has eaten honey (the power to sing) songs (correctly and) not to speak nonsense. Save, save (both) the golden creeper that has been lowered down this little Inginiya rock and the rock, (or otherwise) this time the rock will fall.

"Bamburō (pl.) and Bamburani are honorific forms of Bamburā. Compare *Maharajini*, used in addressing a king.

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"*Nādaw* for *nāda karapan*, or perhaps *nāda weyan*, 'may there be a sound.'

"*Gala gula.* Compare *galawanawā*, 'to save,' 'deliver.'

"*Masā*, probably *mṛiśa*, from root *mṛiś*, Skt. 'to touch.'

"*Murata* for *muhūrta*, a moment.

"*Goḍu*, pl. of *goḍa*, a mound.

"*Maḍānē* for *madaṇa*, from root *mṛid*, Skt. to crush, destroy.

"*Bāpu* from v. *bānawā*, to lower.

"*Bana kiyanda*, 'to repeat the Buddhist Scriptures,' is used colloquially with the meaning here given.

"*Golō* for *galo*, 'rock,' as in another invocation addressed to this *yaka*."

Mr Parker writes: "This is a prayer for the protection of the ladder of creepers down which the honey gatherer descends, and also to prevent the fall of loose pieces of projecting rock on his head. First the suppliant asks for magical words to arouse the attention of the *yaka*. The rest of the invocation is evidently addressed to the *yaka* himself."

Uniche.

XXVIII. *Mē Iṅgiṇiya galaṭa bāpu raṇ waela waelat wael mē wara waeṭiyi. Mē apa Bamburō bat kaṇa raṇ mandē. Mārtu mal andan saedi galō. Mē apa Bamburō bat kaddī nādaw, nādaw gal gala suniyanē.*

The golden creeper and the jungle creepers lowered down this Inginiya rock will fall this time (unless protected by the Yaka). This (rock) is the golden plate off which our Bambura eats rice. It is a rock made in the form of the Marut flower. While this our Bambura is eating rice make a sound, make a sound, "gal, gala"—save save (him)—by magic.

"*Waelat* is probably *wala* plus *t*, forest or jungle.

"*Mārtu* for *marut*, a plant.

"*Andan* for *andama*, manner, state.

"*Galō* for *gala*, rock.

"Apparently it is the rock which is expected to emit a noise that will arouse the attention of the *yaka*. The suppliant praises it in order to propitiate it."

This invocation was not understood by our informants, nor could we ascertain that it was sung to any *yaka* other than one who was called Mulpola Hitiye Yaka, "the *yaka* who stopped a

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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the summit of the hill[1]." Unfortunately we omitted to ask whether this was a synonym for Kande Yaka who, in other invocations, is addressed as Kande Mulpola Wanniya, but the tone of the whole invocation with its reference to the "sword called Golden" is as unlike any other invocation to Kande as it well can be. This invocation is thoroughly foreign in form and sentiment.

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Sitala Wanniya.

Invocation addressed to Mulpola Hitiye Yaka, "the yaka who stopped at the Chief Place," i.e. the summit of the hill, at the Bambura ceremony.

XXIX.

Raṇ nan kaḍuwē nawa danitot
Apalā Wannige nawa no kiyā.
Apalā Wannige nawa danitot
Raṇ nan kaḍuwē nawa no kiyā.

Angaru naṭun naṭaṇa Wanniṭa
Sonda sonda bera ṭaḍa gasāṭaw.
Sellan naṭun naṭaṇa Wanniṭa
Sonda sonda bera ṭaḍa gasāṭaw.

If you know the eulogy of the sword called Golden
Do not say the praise of our Wanniya.
If you know the eulogy of our Wanniya
Do not say the praise of the sword called Golden.

To the Wanniya who dances gesture-dances
Beat excellent tunes (lit. verses) on the tom-tom.
To the Wanniya who dances sportive-dances
Beat excellent tunes on the tom-tom.

Our informants, though providing a translation of the words of this invocation which approximates to the translation given by Mr Parker, could not tell us the significance thereof. Indeed they were only clear on one matter, that in spite of what the invocation said they had no drums and never had had drums. Handuna stated that the translation of the second verse should be:—

Sing loudly to him who dances the *angaru* dance.
Sing loudly to him who dances playful dances.

None could say what the *angaru* dance might be.

[1] Or perhaps the *yaka* to whom the Mulpola Hitiye belonged. Hitiye whatever else it may signify is also the ancient name for a particular form of pointed weapon.

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Mr Parker suggests that the meaning of the first verse "may be that the Wanniya is too important a personage for anything else to be praised in the same breath (even his golden sword), and that 'at the same time' is to be understood at the end of the second and fourth lines of the translation."

Mr Parker also suggests that Mulpola Hitiye Yaka may be a synonym of "Gale Yaka (Yaka of the Rock) who danced on hills, and whose worshippers dance on many hills or crags of the Vaedi-rata as well as the North-western Province. *Hitiye* is a participial adjective derived from *kitinawa* to stay or stop; the literal translation of *mulpola hitiye Yaka* is 'Chief-place-stopped-Yaka!'"

Invocation at Pregnancy Ceremony.

Sitala Wanniya.

Us Mukkāliya[1] Song, at pregnancy dance.

XXX. *Us mukkāliya waṭa, maeda mukkāliya waṭē, bāla kaṇuwa waṭē ḍaena daewaṭē ennau, dēvatāwayi.*

Having jumped round the high tripod, round the middle tripod, round the small post, come, wrapped up. (He) is a Dēvatāwa (godling).

This invocation was recited by the dancers at the pregnancy ceremony described on pp. 247 to 251. We do not understand to whom the last sentence "(He) is a Devatawa (godling)" applies. On receiving Mr Parker's translation we suggested that this might refer to the unborn child, but Mr Parker pointed out that he would not expect a child to be called a *devatawa*, and that "it is of the worst augury to speak in terms of praise of any child." Mr Parker therefore understands "the word *devatawa* to refer in a complimentary manner to the spirit which is asked to come." This idea agrees with the information we obtained in the field, where a somewhat doubtful translation of this invocation was given as follows: those who jump between the *us mukkāliya*, the *meda mukkāliya*, and the *balakanuwa* are *devatawa* (pl.). It was explained that the invocation referred to the performers, and that the expression "are *devatawa*" was the

[1] *Mukkāliya* is formed from two Tamil words, *mūndu* "three," and *kāl* "legs."

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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equivalent to saying "are possessed of *yaku*," since to Veddas of Sitala Wanniya *devatawa* was a synonym for *yaka*.

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Dola Yaka Ceremony.

Sitala Wanniya.

Invocation to Dola Yaka.

XXXI. *Kaḍat kaḍa Doliyē. Mal bandinā tacpa anḍagōlā saddamayi. Bindōli damanna damaṇna bindōliyē, mal bandinā ṭamawayi.*

Our informants could not translate this invocation or even state its meaning. Mr Parker supplies the following "doubtful translation":

Bit by bit, O Doliyā. At the place where the flowers (or necklaces) are tied there is a noise of calling (for us). The fixing of the demon offerings (*dola*) on the ground, the fixing of the demon offerings on the ground causes delay in tying the flowers (or necklaces).

"*Doli* is usually a swing, but apparently this cannot be the meaning here. *Dola* is especially an offering to evil spirits who are demons, such as Riri Yaka.

"It is uncertain if the first *doliyē* should be translated 'O Offering!'

"In Clough's Dictionary one meaning of *kaḍa* is 'arrow,' but it is very doubtful if the Vaeddas ever use it with this signification, indeed, I have never known *kaḍa* used for arrow. Everywhere the Vaeddas and Sinhalese say *ī, īya, igaha, itala*. The translation—'arrow by arrow'—would, however, suit the ceremony."

Invocation to Indigollae Yaka at the Kirikoraha Ceremony.

Sitala Wanniya.

XXXII. *Itiriya-kanda Madara gala wāḍiyā. Ī dahasak gena surasāpu dunu diyā, Indigollē devi waḍiyot subā wiyā. Mini riri oruwakaja thunip kunip lamā.*

Madara-gala at Itiriya-kanda (is your) lodging. Having brought a thousand arrows (and) decorated bowstrings, God of Indigolla, should you

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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come may (you) be fortunate. While putting (your mouth) to a boat (shaped vessel) of human blood (and) while drinking (may you be) delighted[1].

At Sitala Wanniya Indigollac Yaka was regarded as an attendant upon Kande Yaka. It is therefore obvious that this invocation did not arise at Sitala Wanniya or among any Veddas retaining their original *yaka* beliefs, and it is in fact an excellent example of the foreign element in the Vedda religion, and is especially interesting because it is possible in this case to indicate how an invocation of horrific nature has been introduced.

This matter has been discussed in the addendum to Chapter VIII; we may, however, suggest that the boat-shaped vessel of blood may refer to the murder of the 60 priests.

What we have written on p. 165 concerning the attributes of Indigollae Yaka among the village Veddas of Unuwatura Bubula shows that he has entered their beliefs as a powerful but beneficent spirit, though revengeful of neglect or insult. At Sitala Wanniya he is a *yaka* attendant on Kande Yaka. He may have attained this position immediately on his adoption, in which case his terrifying invocation must have been subsequently introduced and carelessly attached to the friendly *yaka*. Or the invocation, which is clearly only a fragment of a long formula, may portray something of his character when first adopted, and though his attributes have been softened to the usual friendly quality of Vedda *yaku*, a portion of the invocation appropriate to him may have lingered. We consider the first of these hypotheses the more likely, but in any case the existence among the Veddas of Sitala Wanniya of the foreign Indigollae Yaka as a beneficent attendant on Kande Yaka, who is nevertheless invoked with a formula typical of a bloodthirsty Sinhalese demon, is a most interesting example of the foreign elements that we now find in the Vedda religion.

Invocation to the Maha Kiriamma.

Sitala Wanniya.

XXXIII. *Sorambara waewē sonda sonda nehun asti. Ewā nelunnaḷa sonda sonda liyō yati, eka muṇu baḍu*[2] *baendana yati senaga ṗam barā Sorambara ṗasu haraṇa yati Pangara-gammanā.*

[1] Deriving *lamā* from *ram*.

[2] *eka munu badu* for *ek-emunu badu*, things strung together.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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In Horabora tank there will be excellent lotus. To gather them excellent women go; tying on strings of beads they go. The multitude who cherish affection, leaving Horabora behind, go to Pangara gammana. 782 539

The Veddas of Sitala Wanniya told us that they did not invoke the Kiriamma with offerings for the cure of sickness though they had heard that the Veddas of the Bintenne did so and Handuna gave us these lines as part of the Bintenne invocation, which he said he had learnt from his father. He only understood the first few words which he translated "There are fine lotus in Horaboraweva and fine women go to pluck them." A variant of this invocation—if such it be—has been published by Mr Louis De Zoysa[1] as a song of the Veddas of Horaborawewa.

Sorabora vevé sonda oḷu neḷum ę
Mīwé nelannaṭa sonda liyé e
Kalu karalé kudu karalé uyé de
Oḷu sālé bat kannaṭa māḷu nę.

Fine, fine water-lilies and lotuses grow in Sorobora tank!
These to gather come fine, fine women.
They make them into black and white curries;
To eat the water-lily-seed rice there are no curries.

Obviously both versions are corrupt and have been derived from an invocation (No. XXXIX) sung at the *kolamaduwa* ceremony.

Invocation to the Kiriamma of Indigollaewa asking for success in hunting.

Bandaraduwa.

XXXIV. *Irī kaṇḍa Monara gaḷada wāḍiyā*
I dahasak wida tara karapu dunu ḍiyā
Yanḍa enḍa diya pā man balāpiyā
Indigollā Devi waḍiyot subā wīyā

Asli gigiran piṭa inda walu kaṭina lamā
Diya gigiran piṭa inda diya damana lamā
Naḍdunnā dunu diya ata kuḍā lamā
Riri oruwa piṭa sukman karana lamā

[1] Note on the Origin of the Veddas, with a few specimens of their songs and charms. *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1881, Vol. VII, Part II, p. 102. [113]

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Oba tula rajuṭa oba tula wāḷī aranṭu là
Meha tula rajuṭa meha tula wāḷī aranṭu là
De ḷili rajuṭa de ḷili wāḷī aranṭu là
Tawa mama nidida? Dan tula raju marāḷuḷu là.

Iri-kanda (Sow-hill) and Monara-gala (Peacock-rock) are (her) resting-places.
(She has) a thousand arrows, and bow-strings made with strength to pierce.
Look at the path on which her watery feet come and go.
Should the Goddess of Indigolla proceed (along it) there will be good luck.

(She is) the Lady who spins the clouds (in order) to sit behind the thunders of the waterfalls,
The Lady who subdues the water (in order) to sit behind the thunders of the water.
The Lady whose hand is small for the bow-string of the sounding bow (?),
The Lady who walks behind the boat (shaped vessel) of blood.

To the great king on that side that great resting-place was given up, it is said;
To the great king on this side this great resting-place was given up, it is said;
To the kings on both sides the resting places on both sides were given up, it is said.
What (opportunity was there) still for sleep? The wealthy great kings were killed, it is said.

"*Oba* and *meha* are Sinhalese or Elu words for 'there' and 'here' according to Clough; but are never used colloquially by Sinhalese, whereas they are in common use by the Vaeddas, and I was told by them they meant 'on that side' and 'on this side,' *otta* (Sin. *ohaṭa*) and *metta* (Sin. *mehaṭa*) being used for 'there' and 'here.'

"The penultimate *là* of the last line appears to be pleonastic.

"The translation of the third line of the second verse is doubtful. It may mean 'the little lady whose hand (guides) the bow-string of the sounding bow,' and this would agree with her title *Lamā*, but as she is not elsewhere referred to as being young or small I have not inserted this translation in the verse."

This invocation was written down for us by Tissahami the Vedda Arachi. It is therefore not surprising to find that it contains little that belongs to the Vedda stratum of thought. The invocation is headed *Indigollae Kiri Amma dēvayanṭa*

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natana kavi "Song danced for hunting to Kiriamma of Indigollae." We did not have the opportunity of discussing the meaning of this invocation in the field, and indeed knew nothing of its contents until Mr. Parker translated it. With regard to the significance of this invocation Mr Parker writes: "Indigollae Kiriamma is here treated as the Huntress Goddess of the waters, who sends the rain which enables the hunters to track the deer. The boat of blood is referred to in an invocation of her husband, the Indigollaewa Yaka.

"Apparently two other Yakas endeavoured to take from her the two hills which she haunted, but in the end she killed the intruders and regained these resting-places[1]."

Invocations to the Rahu Yaku.

These are invocations to a Sinhalese demon who has been taken over by the Veddas and assumed Vedda attributes. The most striking alteration that the demon has undergone is that instead of the single Rahu Yaka of the Sinhalese the Veddas speak of three Rahu Yaku (Sitala Wanniya) or of male and female spirits Raku Yaka and Yakini (Bandaraduwa). The Sitala Wanniya story of the Vedda brothers who became the Rahu Yaku has been given in Chapter VII, but we do not know anything concerning the origin of the Yaka and Yakini who are completely foreign in character.

Sitala Wanniya.

XXXV. *Ran adukku aetuwa, ran kadu aetuwa, gas wada aetuwa, kudu kawda aetun kara dunna. Yam anturuwak wenda epa. Oppu galla.*

Together with golden cooked food, with golden swords, with toddy (lit. tree spirit) we gave white samba rice. We do not want any danger to occur to us. Take the offering.

With Handuna's help a translation of this invocation was prepared which is practically identical with that provided by Mr Parker. Handuna explained that in this invocation *gas wada*, lit. "core of a tree," stood for "coconut."

[1] "Her origin has not been mentioned in any of these invocations; the Sinhalese says that she is Mahini, the beautiful incarnation of Vishnu, and mother of Ayiyanar, the great Forest God of Ceylon."

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XXXVI. *Nārunayi saduna, borunayi saduna. Gini Rāhu Bandāra ena velata hadu kīrumahak saedi ga.*

The Nā tree is made, and the Bō tree is made. At the time when the chief, Gini Rāhu, comes, a fight with swords will be made.

The Veddas could neither explain the meaning of the words of this invocation, nor state the significance of the whole.

Unuwatura Bubula.

XXXVII. *Gini wahalak sadala, rān kāla pandamak sadala, ran i iti sadala, Gini Rāhu Bandāra ran i iti sadala mā magul maduwaja wadinna ran mātai balanna.*

As we have constructed a Fire Palace, as we have made a light (resting) on a golden support (?), as we have made with wax golden arrows, O Chief, Gini Rāhu, as we have made with wax golden arrows, be pleased to proceed to this festival shed and to look at the golden mortar also.

The Veddas of Unuwatura Bubula understood this invocation in a somewhat different sense.

Gini Rāhu Bandar come to this shelter, look upon the golden mortar. The shelter has a roof of fire, within it is a golden torch and golden bees'-wax.

Invocations sung at the Kolamaduwa Ceremony.

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We were told that the *kolamaduwa* ceremony was performed until recently with considerable pomp and circumstance by the Veddas of Bandaraduwa. Tissahami, the Vedda Arachi, gave us the following invocations as some of those that he learnt to sing when as a youth he lived among the Veddas. Tissahami wrote down these invocations after the partial rehearsal of the *kolamaduwa* ceremony which was arranged for our benefit at Henebedda, a description of which is given in Chapter IX.

When discussing the *kolamaduwa* we were told that Veddas were sometimes sent for by the peasant Sinhalese because of the superior protection afforded to the cattle fold by their invocations and dances. The tradition as to this practice was quite definite

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-S (1907-1908) 1911
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and we do not doubt that it occurred formerly, but we could hear of no recent instance in which Veddas alone officiated.

This did not surprise us for we met with no Veddas who knew these long invocations, and we believe that this practice must have ceased throughout the Vedirata at least two or three generations ago. The necessary conditions existed in those days when, as we were assured, there were communities of village Veddas with shaman of repute such as no longer exist, and we may instance the history of Lindegala given on pp. 171 and 172 as a case in point. Nevertheless the custom survives in a modified form, for Tissahami with three Veddas performed a *kolamaduwa* ceremony at Damenegama in 1903 with the object of stopping an epidemic, alleged to be dysentery, which was then raging in the neighbouring villages.

A very large number of spirits are invoked, but as has been indicated in Chapter IX Kande Yaka, Bilindi Yaka, and the *yaku* of the recent dead were not of the number. This demonstrates that the ceremony as it at present exists is essentially foreign, and therefore the length and nature of the three invocations given are not surprising. The invocation to Unapane Kiriamma which recites her deeds agrees well with all we could find out about her independently, and suggests that these invocations arose among such settled village Veddas as those mentioned in the Sinhalese chronicles referred to in the first chapter.

The four invocations written down by Tissahami were discussed at length with him, the shaman of the Henebedda Veddas sitting with us, though as this man—a half bred—knew only parts of these invocations and greatly admired Tissahami, the translations obtained in this way only represent the opinion of Tissahami, and presumably that of the Kovil Vanamai Veddas from whom he learnt them in his youth. In these circumstances it is not surprising that two of these translations differ considerably from those furnished by Mr Parker, and this difference is so great in the invocation (No. XXXIX) which should be sung while the leaves are being slashed from the *kolamaduwa* (cf. p. 269) that we have thought it best to give our field version as well as Mr Parker's translation. Some of the allusions, for instance, the reference to the shark contained in the first portion

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782 of No. XXXIX, were equally unintelligible to our field informants
539 and to Mr Parker.

Invocation of Unapane Kiriamma at the Kolamaduwa Ceremony.

XXXVIII. 1. *Udu-nāwara hōṭṭgena*
Yaṭi-nāwara hōṭṭgena
Sal ōyan sādāgena
Pol ōyan sādāgena

2. *Aeli āeṭṭ sādāgena*
Ru mīwā sādāgena
Uḍu wīyan sādāgena
Waṭa wīyan sādāgena

3. *Raṇ piṭāwili sādāgena*
Neṭṭi māl sādāgena
Raṇ hara gal sādāgena
Moṭṭachkili sādāgena.

4. *Siṭinā āaraṭa*
Mālawak waeṭi siṭa
Miya gudin sat dawāsaṭa
Raṇ diwas waeṭi siṭa.

5. *Sat Paṭṭini Deviyanneu*
Teda wāran labāgena
Moṭṭachkili labāgena
Kataragan wāhalen

6. *Kaṭa hāngal labāgena*
Teda wāraṇ ladāgena
Sidda Māngra Deviyanneu
Kiri dāluwā labāgena

7. *Valli nam Ammā gē*
Kalu ambara paṭṭiyeṭa
Hudu ambara paṭṭiyeṭa
Rā wākun muṭṭiweṭa

8. *Deva diwas ōlāpā*
Unāpāne Kiri Ammā
Sat pīveṭu Kumāri
Uḍu wīyan Kumāri

9. *Waṭa wīyan Kumāri*
Moṭṭachkili Kumāri
Raṇ piṭāwili Kumāri
Raṇ hara gal Kumāri
Vādāgama Kumāri!—

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10. *Aeyi pāmā muna pāmāda*
Hun kiri sādāpumu
Kaḍa hāṅgal sādāpumu?
Raṇ diwas elāpan
Raṇ naḷū kiyāpan.

1. Cutting Udu-nuwara (jungle),
Cutting Yati-nuwara (jungle),
Planting Sal gardens,
Planting Coconut gardens,

2. Training elephants (f.) and the tusk elephant,
Training the riding buffalo,
Making ceiling cloths,
Making side (wall) cloths,

3. Making golden coverings,
Making forehead ornaments,
Making golden necklaces (?),
Making head cloths,

4. While (you were) living;
Having fallen into adversity,
Seven days after (your) fatal sickness,
After (their) golden divine eyes had fallen (on you),

5. From the seven Pattini Goddesses
Receiving their gifts of power;
Receiving head coverings
From the Kataragam palace,

6. Receiving a pair of robes;
Receiving the gift of power,
From the deity the God Mangala
Receiving coconuts[1].

7. (Receiving from) the mother called Valli, cattle
For the black cattle (lit. horn-bearer) fold
(And) for the white cattle fold,
(And) beautiful chatties for cooking-pots;

8. (You) who cast down (on us your) divine eyes,
Kiri Ammā of Unāpāna,
The Princess foremost of seven (Kiri Ammas),
Princess of ceiling cloths,

9. Princess of wall cloths,
Princess of head coverings,
Princess of golden coverings,
Princess of golden necklaces,
Princess of Vidāgama!—

[1] Cf. note [2] p. 277.

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10. Why (are you) late, what is (the cause of) the delay
When we have made ready young coconuts,
When we have made ready a pair of robes?
Cast (on us your) golden divine eyes;
Declare (your) golden decision.

"*Moṭṭachkili* is formed of two Tamil words, *moṭṭai* (pronounced *moṭṭi*), a bald head, and *kili* a strip of cloth. The word does not occur in Winslow's dictionary.

"*Piyawili* is a verbal noun derived from *piyanawa* to cover or shut.

"*Kara gal* may here mean 'stones for the neck,' i.e. beads; the usual meaning is whet-stones.

"*Ambara*, horn-bearer, is a *kaḷi bāsa* word which usually means buffalo.

"*Peretu* for *peraṭu*, foremost.

"*Sadapumu* is a peculiar form, the past participial adjective with the termination of the first person plural."

The first three verses enumerate the works that Unapane Kiriamma is traditionally supposed to have performed during her life on earth. The fourth and fifth verses indicate that she died after a prolonged illness and on the seventh day after her death received power, i.e. became a *yaka*. Verses four to seven mention her and the gifts presented to her by various superior gods who, as Mr Parker writes, are all Tamil deities, "by Pattini the Goddess of chastity and controller of epidemics, who has seven manifestations or forms; Skanda the god of the Kataragam temple; Mangala, who may be Ayiyanar; and Walliamma the wife of Skanda, who according to the traditions of Ceylon married her at Kataragama." Mr Parker suggests that in the third line of the eighth verse "The Princess foremost of Seven" refers to the position of Unapane Kiriamma as "the most important personage among the seven minor Kiriammas to whom worship is paid by the Southern Vaeddas. Four others among them are local princesses or chieftainesses, and two are the *sakti* or female manifestations of minor deities. In another district Miriyabaedda Kiriamma is considered to be the most important one of this group, and the Unapane Kiriamma is there held to occupy only the third place."

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Invocation sung at the Kolamaduwa ceremony.

XXXIX.

1. *Mastmasa mūda mandē masa mērā kapāgena ā keliyaṭada mas keliyaṭada giyā ara Wālimba gala dun weṭi panikkiyā.*

2. *Nā kaḍuwen koṭa Bō kaḍuwen dinun dakinākyi.*
Bā kaḍuwen koṭā Bo kaḍuwen dinun dankāyi
Dinun dakinākyi, tāpā yālawā.

3. *Kadu kiwāthan karagunō*
Hat kiwāthan karanāda karawāṇa(da)?
Hat kiwāthan karagunō
Kadu kiwāthan karaṇāda karanākadaa?

4. *Obama obama oba Horabara waruā nō;*
Mobama mobama mobo Māwilingangā nō,
Aṇḍā diya duwana Māwilingangā nō,
Enuwā kiyannan Nilmal gangā nō.

5. *Horabara waruā kāruwa piṭa innāda?*
Aela welā wel eliyen enāda?
Duwa walalu nada dilā enāda?
Kāriya kiyannaṭa Nilmal enāda?

Pālu raṭuyi, Wanniya, otanin ohaṭa;
Gōlu gena panini wael kinnō arugaṭa,
Reru arwit diya helinā sonda-ruwaṭa.
Yālu tapit giyada Sorabera waruaṭa?

Sorabera waruā egoḍat innan Vaddō;
Sorabera waruā me goḍat innan Vaddō;
Sorabera waruā de goḍama innan Vaddō,
Apaṭat nelun mal awulanda daddā?

Sorabera waruā sonda sonda elu nelun aṭṭi;
Enuwā nelannaṭa sonda sonda liyō eṭi;
Kalu karalā kudu karalā uyā deti.
Olu ataṭ kat kannaṭa mālu nati.

6. *Mā kahumal aella wicārī*
Atat damā yana murā gamanayi kālannā
Mā Kaḍagat gāla wicārī
Inaṭa dānā yānō is moṭṭarkhili kālannā
Mā Niyandawarā gala wicārī
Ānaṭa payaṭa dānā yanō gigiri nānda aṭennā.

Kahumal Nangiṭa kāndaṭu paṭni mula kōlen raṭa waṭṭi gā.
Kahumal Nangiṭa kaendaṭu anā mula kendeu rāṭā waṭṭi gā
Āngaru waṭaru naṭana Wannitu kenda kenda keru gaṭa gāṭṭā.
Kuri kat kuri kat apaṭa ēpā tōba gaengiri kala kiṭṭāpā

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Kaka hirtiken tikawé mäli pitati Hawasakaligé wiré gaman pitaha
Ähapa wäpan pitapa wäpan dasta gigiri tikawé,
Näli pitati Hawasakali mulpätapi duwa ewé.
Mini bäé tikawé mäli pitati Hawasakelä wiré gäman haruwé.
Dästa dämé dasta gigiri tikawé.

1. Cutting the shark fish in the midst of the Masāmasa Sea, did that skilful elephant catcher to whom Wälimba-gala is given go for the sport with blood or for the sport with fish?

2. Having cut with the Nā sword I shall see victories (i.e. I shall be victorious) with the Bō sword.
Having cut with the Bō sword I shall gain victories with the Bō sword; I shall see victories, You Friend.

3. (When) fighting with swords shall I fight shall I fight with (my) hands (also)?
(When) fighting with (my) hands shall I fight shall I fight with swords?

4. There, there, there is Horabora waewa;
Here, here, here is the Mahawaeli-ganga
The Mahawaeli-ganga in which the water laments as it flows.
"I am coming, Nilmal-ganga," I shall say.

5. (He longs to return to distant Horabora, and his thoughts now dwell on it.)
Shall I stop on the sluice of Horabora?
Shall I come from the open ground of the field on the channel?

Shall I come now, making my bangles resound?
Shall I come to Nilmal (ganga) to declare the matter? (i.e. to tell the truth about the district. He means that he need not go there to tell it).

It is a deserted district, Wanniyā, from end to end (lit. from there to there);
Bringing their pupils (young ones, with them) the small creeping ants spring on to my body.
Teal come (to the tank) and sport very beautifully in the water.
Friends, have you also been to Sorabora waewa?

There will be Vaeddas on this side of Sorabora waewa;
There will be Vaeddas on that side of Sorabora waewa;
There will be Vaeddas on even both sides of Sorabora waewa.
Will they permit us also to collect lotus flowers?

There will be very lovely white lotus in Sorabora waewa,
Very handsome women will have been sent to pluck them;

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After preparing and cleaning and cooking them they will give them (to be eaten). 782
For eating (with) rice made from seeds of the white lotus there is no meat (the game having been driven away). 539

6. (When I examine) this Kalumal waterfall
It looks (as though) I am joining in a love (making) journey.
In the examination of this Kadagat-gala what is fixed on the head (? of the rock) looks like a head-cloth.
In the examination of this Niyandawarā-gala the sound of the jingling bangles placed on the hands and feet is heard.
From the end of the bundle of honey tied up for Kalumal Nangī it is falling (? on the ground).
From the mouth of the bundle of rice (?) tied up for Kalumal Nangī it is falling (? on the ground).
For the Wanniyā who dances the *angara* dances beat excellent tunes on the tom-toms.
We do not want lame women's pingo loads, or sham (or refuse) loads; tie up desirable betel leaves.
The reed pipes of Kaha Kirillantalawa (Orioles' plain) being in front, it seems to be the love (making) journey of Hannaehelā (hill).
Having garlands for the hands and garlands for the feet (she) shakes the jingling bangles of both hands.
The reed pipes being in front Hannaehelā comes running to the Chief place (summit)—(or, they come running to the chief place of Hanaaehelā).

7. The reed pipes of Mini Kōbōtalāwa (turtle doves' plain) being in front, Hannaehelā makes (her) love-journey;
Having placed them on both hands (she) shakes the jingling bangles of both hands.

"In this song the Masāmasa Sea is again mentioned; there is probably some legend regarding the shark that was killed in the olden time. In *Ancient Ceylon* I have given reasons for believing that the early Vaeddas were in part a race of fishers.

"The 'blood-game,' *lē keliya*, of the first section may have some connection with blood offerings to demons. The other expression, *mas keliya*, would commonly mean 'meat-game,' but as meat is termed *mālu* at the end of the fifth section it appears to mean here 'fish-game,' the sport of fishing.

"In the fourth section, the singer, living near the Mahawaeli-ganga, thinks he will hear the Nilmal-ganga, apparently a river near Hovabora, calling him back to that district. The last

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words of the fifth section give the reason why the Vaeddas have left it,—the want of game. The expression *kalu karalā*, 'having made black,' must refer to some part of the process in preparing the lotus seeds.

"I do not understand the sixth section, in which I have adhered as closely as possible to what appears to be the literal meaning. It would be much more intelligible if pronouns had been inserted; there is only one, *apaṭa epā*, 'we do not want,' which explains nothing.

"Apparently the hill Hannaehelā, with reeds growing in pools on the plains near it (from which the reed pipe, *nalāwa*, is made), reminds the singer of a girl decked with garlands, who is going to be married (or possibly only visiting her younger sister), preceded by men playing these pipes. As I understood it, she takes with her pingo loads of betel, honey and cooked rice, to present to her younger sister, the Kalumal waterfall.

"The meaning of *raṭā* in the second verse of this section is uncertain. The word *amā* may be *hambā* or *sambā*, a kind of rice. *Angara* is defined in Clough's Dictionary as 'anointing the body after bathing with perfumes made from sandal wood.'

"*Paengiri kola* is a *kaelībāsa* expression for betel. *Mini kobo* should be *mini kobeyiyō* (jewelled) turtle doves; some other pigeons are called *bōwā* in Sinhalese, an onomatopoietic word imitating their cooing.

"*Kori kat bori kat* is an expression I have not heard, and the meaning is doubtful."

On account of the great difference between Mr Parker's translation and the meaning of this invocation as it was explained in the field, we now give the translation we wrote down while discussing the matter with our informants. It does not pretend to do more than explain the significance which our informants attributed to the invocation, and at the time we noted it we realised that it was far from being a literal translation. Explanatory remarks are enclosed between square brackets.

(1) Did the Panikkia of mist covered Walimbagala go to the great sea to kill the great shark and bring his flesh and blood?

[The Panikkia is a spirit whose home is Walimbagala

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(Friar's Hood). He is doubtless the Walimbagala Yaka of other groups of Veddas.]

(2) Friends I will cut with my sword of Na and Bo and I will be victorious. [The Panikkia speaks to a host of spirits known as the Maha Yakino.]

(3) Did he go to fight with the sword, or to charm with his tongue?

(4) Horaborawewa is far away, the Mahawelliganga the waters of which are blue, is far away. [It was explained that this verse referred to the Veddas of Horabora being far away.]

(5) Are you on the sluice of Horaborawewa? [The *yaku* of dead Veddas are thus addressed.]

They [the *yaku*] will be coming by the fields of Elavella [well-known rice fields].

Are you coming shaking your bangles in your hands?

Nilmal (Kiriamma) are you coming to favour us?

The country of the Wanniyas is abandoned in that direction.

Bears growl and roam (in the abandoned country).

Friend have you been to Horaborawewa where teal swim?

There are Veddas on the far side of Horaborawewa.

There are Veddas on this side of Horaborawewa.

There are Veddas on both sides of Horaborawewa.

Will they allow us to pick lotus flowers?

There are fine *olo* [a plant] and lotus in Horaborawewa.

Beautiful women come to pick them.

(They) cook and give white and black (seeds) [i.e. cleaned and uncleaned seeds].

(There is) no curry to eat the *olo* rice [i.e. the seeds].

(6) See how (they) go along Kalumalella [the stream below the sluice] swinging their hands;

See how (they) go along Kadagangala [a hill] with their heads covered.

Hear the jingling of bangles on the hands and feet of those going to Niyandawaragala [a hill].

The parcel of honey [tied up in leaves] for Nilmal Nangi is slanting.

The parcel of rice for Kalumal Nangi is erect.

Beat the tom-tom for the Wanniya to dance well.

782 Do not give small and torn betel leaves to us.
See how Pereti Hannaehela going and coming from Kaha
539 Kirillan *talawa* jingling the bangles on her hands....
Pereti Hannaehela is coming running to the Kolamaduwa.
(7) Pereti Hannaehela of Minikobo *talawa* comes jingling bangles on her hands.

Invocation of the Maha Yakino Ceremony.

XL. *Kolamaduwa hat muḷ baṇdina-ẓuta kiyana haviya.*
Kayē raṭē raṭē gamē yanḍada mē ran āmā muḷ bāḍinnē baḍinnē. Kāya wat raṭē gamē yanḍa nēwēyi. Tōṭē raṭē gamē yanḍayi mē ran āmā muḷ baḍinnē baḍinnē. Muna muna wel gan kōṭāla dē mē ran āmā muḷ baḍinnē bāḍinnē. Kāyē raṭē gamē yanḍada mē nā kola wiyan baḍinnē baḍinnē. Tōṭē raṭē gamē yanḍa mē nā kola wi bāḍin dinnē, bāḍinnē.

Song which is sung while tying up the bundles of rice for the *kolamaduwa*.

To go to a village in whose countries are (we) tying, are (we) tying these bundles of golden Ambrosia? Not to go to a village in the country of anyone (else) whatever, (but) to go to a village in thy country (we) are tying, (we) are tying these bundles of golden ambrosia. Having cut which fields are (we) tying, are (we) tying these bundles of golden ambrosia? To go to a village in whose country are (we) tying, are (we) tying these *nā* leaf canopies? To go to a village in thy country (we) are tying, (we) are tying these *Nā* leaf canopies.

Our field translation of this invocation substantially agrees with Mr Parker's, though as might be expected our informants gave "rice" in place of "Ambrosia."

Invocation of Ambarapoti Kiriamma at the Kolamaduwa Ceremony.

XLI. *Gewara wil mānḍi elowala bili yudda*
Bambara mala pipi tudigena haraṭi mānḍa wenawa nidda
Ambarāla pattai sundara palandinawā illā tudda
Ambarapoti Ālliya mina me nadawaṭa hetawu ardda
Mandariṇu hara nili tamba pata atuyi
Bilindaya ākāsa ruwa yedami
Bindu hoson mal muhuḷa atuyi
Bella wataṭa gombara tunā
Saggu puskola e ran tuṭa gena
Nāsihawa nalalaṭa ebina

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Kumala patul deka derana tabägena
Wandiyayi Ambarāpoti Amma.
Salā didī rasla matupita petiyek perelena andan
Walā yaetin pāyu sandē deviyō waedawena andan
Ran toraneka ramba toraneka deviyō sitapena andan
Uva tedeli mal sami mahuwata suerasuna andan.

While the sambar deer trusted to the pool, being driven away it was attacked in the jungle.
The Bambarā bee sitting on the flower will make quite another cry (i.e. objects) about bathing.
It is very cleanly to put on frequent sandal-wood after grinding it (to powder).
Except Ambarāpoti Ammā who is there (to undertake) this business?
The sapphire of the peacock's neck (shines) like a plate of copper.
The throne of Bilindi is made beautifully.
From his body (hang) margosa flowers like a garland,
Round his neck are scattered freckles (light patches),
He has ear-rings of gold joined to talipat leaf,
His nose is worthy of his forehead.
The child placing his two feet on the earth
Is greater than Ambarāpoti Ammā.
As a *petiyā* (fish) is rolled over on the top of the eddying wave,
Like the moon risen from under the cloud, the *deviyō* advances.
Like an arch of gold, an arch of ramba grass, the *deviyō* reclines,
Like the Lord of Vaeddas, who has renown throughout Uva, adorned for the (wedding) hall.

The first four lines of our field version of this invocation agree tolerably well with Mr Parker's translation except that nothing is said about bathing, the second line running "The bees seated on the flowers make humming sounds." The next eight lines were given to us as follows:

"The child should be like the colour of the peacock's neck.

"The body (of the child) should be like the flowers of the kohomba tree (margosa tree), like the flowers of the damba tree are the *gonera*[1] round the neck (of the child).

"The earrings made of talipot leaves look beautiful (when worn) in the face.

"Ambarāpoti Ammā came striding across the firmament."

Of the remaining four lines only the last is substantially different from Mr Parker's. It runs "See how the Malasami who has authority over Uva comes to the *mandua*."

[1] *Gonera* are light flecks on the skin which are much admired.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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CHAPTER XIV

SONGS

533 IN this chapter we give a number of Vedda songs for the transliteration and translation of which we are indebted to Mr Gunasekara.

It will be noted that a number of the songs are variants on a common theme; with the exception of No. IV (song asking for presents), the lullabies and the song sung while plucking *jak* fruit, all were sung for the enjoyment they caused or the amusement they produced—that is to say we could not discover that there were occasions on which any of these songs were sung specially and exclusively. Even the sad little song (No. VII) commemorating the suicide of two women[1], though it did not cause amusement, was by no means avoided and seemed to give a good deal of quiet satisfaction. The song sung by women to their husbands who returned empty handed from seeking honey, though doubtless sung on appropriate occasions, was also sung at other times and was considered rather a joke.

533 A number of the best known songs begin or end with a 539 variant of the untranslatable lines

Ţan ţaṉḍinṭnan ţaṉḍinṭn!
Ţānan ţaṉḍina ţaṉḍinṭn![2].

[1] The legend has been given on pp. 321 and 323.

[2] Mr Gunasekara by slightly altering these lines would obtain

Ţaṉ taṉ diṉṭn! taṉ taṉ diṉṭn!
Ţānṉ taṉ diṉa taṉ diṉṭn!

which he would translate

May each be victorious! May each be victorious!
May he defeat those who are inimical to him! May he be victorious!

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Other songs begin with a variant of

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Māmiṇi māmiṇi mādeyiyā

which may be translated

Oh great man! Oh great man! Oh great god!

or perhaps as Bailey writes

My departed one, my departed one, my god!

The following lullaby was sung at Banderaduwa by a woman called Hudumeniki to the air (No. 19) given on page 345.

I. *Rō-rō-rō*
Ammī mōkaṭada āṅḍannī
Ammī gōsiga ṭiliṭai
Ēkat nindama dīṭpawu dennā
Ammī mōkaṭada āṅḍannī
Ammī gōnala bokkaṭayi āṅḍannī
Ēkat nindama dewu dennā
Ammī mōkaṭada āṅḍannī
Ammī waṅḍurāgē ihaṭayi
Ēkat nindama dewu dennā
Ammī mōkaṭada āṅḍannī
Ammī rōsāgē ihaṭayi
Ēkat nindama dewu dennā
Rō-rō-rō
Ammī kalawelta peṭuni
Nindōṭayi āṅḍannī
Nidiganna pēṭuni
Nindōṭayi āṅḍannī
Rō-rō-rō
Ammā rō-rō-rō
Ammā mōkaṭa āṅḍannī
Ammā dīṭī nāṇḍayi āṅḍannī
Ammī mōkaṭayi āṅḍannī
Ammī niḍi niḍuṇḍayi
Rō-rō-rō ammā.

Rō-rō-rō Child, why are you crying? Child, is it for the fat of the monitor lizard? Give the whole of it (i.e. the fat). Child, why are you crying? Child, is it for the *gōnala* yams you are crying? Give all of them (i.e. the yams). Child, why are you crying? Child, is it for the head of the *wandura* monkey? Give the whole of it (i.e. the head). Child, why are you crying? Child, is it for the head of the *rilawā* monkey? Give the whole of it (i.e. the head).
Rō-rō-rō

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

533 Child, creeping child; are you crying for sleep? Sleeping child, are you
● 539 crying for sleep? *Rē-rē-rē* Darling, *Rē-rē-rē*
Darling, for what are you crying? Darling, is it for bathing you are crying? Child, what are you crying for? Child, is it for sleep? Darling, *Rē-rē-rē*.

The next lullaby was sung by Tandi of Sitala Wanniya; we do not know whether this is the lullaby the music of which is given on page 347 (No. 34 (2)) or on page 350 (No. 34 (1)).

11. *Ammita puputa*
Ammi mahapala ahanawa
Ammi ayila kohinayi
Ehai uludawa dewdewa
Ammi mahapala ahanawa
Ammi kaluwala kohinayi
Ehai uludawa dewdewa
Ammi mahapala ahanawa
Ammi goiha tillyanayi
Ehai uludawa dewdewa.

Lovely babe, what do you cry for, child? Child, it is for the ayila yam. I will give the whole of it. Child, what do you cry for? Child, it is for kaluwala yam. I will give the whole of it. Child, what do you cry for? Child, it is for the fat of the monitor lizard. I will give the whole of it.

These lullabies though longer than those collected by Nevill closely resemble the latter, although they do not appear to contain the jokes and intentional absurdities which Nevill considered to exist in those he recorded[1].

The next song though not a lullaby was said to have been sung by a mother to her young children who were frightened at the oncoming of a thunder storm. It was taken down at Nilgala.

111. *Kumuhan ammitan*
Sat maduru kanduyak pitin
Silman alpawamali wadinnayi uruyi uruyi
Balapanu dunat nam kala yanu danu
Ayyitun ayyitun dini maduru nagala
Kalagi gina ran riga narakayi

[1] Taprobanian, Vol. II, p. 102. We are by no means convinced that Nevill was right in seeing jokes and absurdities in these lullabies. He himself notes (*loc. cit.*) "that the people themselves do not altogether understand many words in them."

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Maya aya kawdri karaangyi
Rajawalé galgémaja wawanan denna nam
Kada hédagi mayi raja wannila denna
Méha awanayi kaha nawayi thibbawa denna nam
Ran raja atudit yahitin kakkila atina
Raya rajé atithanni newayi newayi
Upa ahdiri wattyana hin ahdiri wattyana
Enagala malagala gaha hin watpana nisaf newayi
Rajawalé galgamaja nawanni denna.

Darling! Darling! There you see the wind and rain are coming down from outside the Seven Seas. See the two. See brother, thunder and lightning coming from the direction of the sea. Things are getting bad. My body is losing strength (through fear). Let us two go to the Rajawalo cave (or cave place). Ho! ho! my two princes, it is not possible to go there, stay. Oh lovely princes! in the forest are *yaku* and gods. Are we not staying in the palace at night! The sky is getting dark, the earth is getting dark. Are not *kon* fruits falling at Enagala and Malagala! Let us go to the Rajawalo cave.

The following "song asking for presents" was sung by a woman of Bandaraduwa to the ali (No. 20) given on page 349. Although addressed to the *Hudu Nanda* (white cousin, i.e. white woman) it was not an extemporary composition but was said to have been known to the singer's parents.

IV. *Hudu nāna kolé kola, atit kola, rati kiya, kiyamāno wigasa yannawa yannawa.*
Sudunā nāna tiyi kiyi dilawa, api duwagānin yanyō
Sudunā nāna dundran nākyāla alagini ranginā wadinā gena innawa.
Api duwagena yanyō tiyi kiyi dilawa dilawa.

White cousin (*nāna*), (I am) running short of betel leaves[1] and areca nut. White cousin, give (us) presents so that we may run away. White cousin, the young (or white) younger sister of *Menike* is getting hungry. Give us, give us, presents that we may run away.

The next two songs, both collected at Nilgala, were particularly popular; the first reflects the very high estimate in which a Vedda holds his wife.

V. *Kaddan kawun yaya nāyayi*
Kaddan kawun yaya nāyayi
Hitan kulagen yaya nāyayi
Hitan kulagen yaya nāyayi

[1] In the original *kolat kola* and *atit kola* both mean betel leaves.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Waccin pinnen paṇa nōyeyi
Waccen pinṉen paṇa nōyeyi
Kuḍi peṭa nattān paṇa yannēyi
Kuḍi peṭa nattān paṇa yannēyi.

For (want) of gruel or food, the life will not depart (i.e. man will not die); owing to cold or wind, the life will not depart; owing to rain or dew, the life will not depart. If there be no wife, the life will depart.

VI. *Tānan tapēn tānānē*
Man oḷḷa baḍuwak deku gattīm
Man oḷḷa baḍuwak dekuṭ gattīm
Mohoda mohoda bola kiri nānē
Mohoda mohoda bola kiri nānē
Ēkeṭa kiyena baḍuwak nowcyi madeku gatti bola nānē
Aru palli tilōvē tibānu
Dūmkuḍikkiya bāla dek gattīm.

Tānan tapēn tānānē.

I have seen a fine thing and taken it. What is it, what is it, oh good *nānē*? *Nānē*, the thing which I saw and picked up is not one that I will mention readily. You *nānē*, what I saw and picked up is the smoking pipe which was on that distant high ground (lit. back high-ground).

[276] The Sinhalese do not smoke pipes, and the Veddas do not smoke at all; on questioning our informants we were told that this song was only two or three generations old and referred to the finding of a pipe dropped by a white sportsman.

The next song recorded at Bandaraduwa alludes to the suicide of two Vedda women and has been referred to already on pages 322 and 323. Only the first part of the song, containing no direct reference to the final tragedy, was taken down.

VII. *Akkinam akkinam yaṇḍē wārēnan*
Api dennāgē wanntiā eṇḍēmo nāti
Bālaṇḍa yandewa wārē naṅgā
Naṅgā nan naṅgā api dennāgē wanntiā
Duwagena eunan hālaṇḍē wārē naṅgā nan naṅgā
Akki nam akki nam maṭa hāsuru kārī nam kārī nam
Naṅgā nam naṅgā nam wārē nam wārē nam
Api dennāgē wanntiā wellikaṇḍiyēn duwagen eunan
Bālaṇḍu wārēn.

Elder sister, elder sister, come to go. Our husbands have not returned; come younger sister, let us go to look for them. Younger sister, younger sister, the husbands of us two are coming running. Younger sister, younger

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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sister, come to look. Elder sister, elder sister, I am afraid, I cannot, I cannot. Younger sister, younger sister, come, come. The husbands of us two are coming running from Wellikandiya. Come and see.

The next song, collected at Sitala Wanniya, records a fatal accident while honey-gathering; a woman speaks to her sister, so that "elder brother" in the third line should be "elder sister"; "younger brother" is a common periphrasis for husband. Tantirivelo is the name of a rock-face and the "golden jewelled cord" is the *liane* ladder by which the honey-seekers reach the comb (cf. Chapter X, invocation No. XXVI).

VIII. *Tantirivēlo baliyaṭo bāṇu*
Raṇ miṇi kendō gallan kiniki
Bādā dennaw mayē kiriṇ ayiyē
Apilā dennaye mallila dennaṭa
Adissi amarukamak ati mayē kiri akkē.

(At) Tantirivēlo the skilfully (or forcibly) lowered
Golden jewelled cord which is sunk from the rock
Gives an unlucky sign, my dear elder brother.
For the younger brothers of us two
There will be a sudden difficulty, my dear elder sister[1].

The following song, also from Sitala Wanniya, was sung by women to their husbands when the latter returned from honey-seeking without honey. The air to which it was sung is given on page 344 (No. 21).

IX. *Disi māwili rankenda elāla ēlāla*
Kalu rattē nangilā dunkawuten pannālā
Ran kaḍuwēn kapālā ela mōran nāgāṭeyi
Mēmullin ihalē kodōyi kiyālā
Duwagena ōvō wennilā-gollō
Ela mōran nahgātō ela gini wediwatgina ennō.

(They) let down, let down the great *mawila* creeper jungle rope, (they) drive away the bees with smoke; (the comb) was cut with the golden sword for the young sisters of Morane. (Our) husbands came running and saying, "Above this corner there is none." The young sisters of Morane are getting hungry.

[1] Mr Parker, to whom we are indebted for the translation of this song, notes that "*gallen* stands for *galen*; *kiniki* appears to be derived from *kindunnawā* to be sunk, and to be the equivalent of *kindiri*.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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533 The next song, transliterated and translated by Mr Parker,
● 539 was collected at Sitala Wanniya where it was known only to the older men of the community. It was sung only when getting *jak* fruit, and though these Veddas knew the ordinary Sinhalese word for this fruit they told me it would not be used. They explained that there was only one place in their territory where there were two or three *jak* trees (doubtless the remains of old gardens made by Buddhist monks or recluses), that they valued their fruit very highly, and that they would not commonly speak of them by name and certainly would not do so when about to gather the fruit. In this song *bo* tree and *moran* flower are both honorific terms. This suggests that the song has magic power, so that its most appropriate position in this volume would be in Chapter VIII.

X. *Mē yāmeṇ yāmeṭa mē āsaṭa wadunā*
Mē Bōṭaṭa ruwala yan henekunṭa bæhæ dinawanna
Mē moraṇ malē misak attiyen barī nan hekkiyen bindala
Masi ṭolawaṭa hassalā dennāyi.

Here, from watch to watch, this (tree) touched the sky.
No one can cause this Bō-leaf sail to be overcome.
Having broken off with the hook this ripening flower only, if unable (to pluck it) by the hand,
Having lowered it to the earth, I will give it.

Moran appears to be *mōrana*.

Malē may be a poetical allusion to the fruit.

Masi ṭolawaṭa for *maki ṭolawaṭa*, a pleonastic form, "to the earth's earth," that is, to the ground. Such pleonasms are not uncommon in colloquial village Sinhalese, as for instance, *edā dawasa*, "that day's day," for "that day."

The next two songs were collected at Nilgala; our informants attached no meaning to the first line.

XI. *Mā miṣi mā miṣi mā deyiyā*
Kāburuhaddī hēkeyiyā
Kuburun kuburun biyannā
Kokkā gāṭeṭa wari wālā
Mādī gāṭeṭa wari wālā
Mādī gāṭeṭa wari wālā
Tala ṭiṭeṭa wari wālā
Kīṭun dannaṇa boru waturaṭi

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Kāḍen paccela yak gamatō
Bimen yannaṭa bol pini barimayi
Mtwōṭṭen yamu denna
Ānē apē wannilā
Kobbē walē nagilā
Ēkat biḍagena waṭṭilā
Kalina walē nagilā
Ēkat biḍagena waṭṭilā
Walkobbē wala dunna namāgena
Wewal icagē ṭiṭaṭa damāgena
Bālat payiyat ina gannāgen
Pōrō paccāt ina gannāgena
Kunu gō taḍiyā karaṭa damāgena
Kaḍiyā ballat iccaru karagena
Endælu ṭotu ban dena nayidē
Endælu ṭotu, ban dena nayidē.

Mā mini mā mini mā deyiyā.

The dove of the Kakuru Mountain is singing *kuḍuruṇu, kuḍuruṇu*. There was rain at Kokkāgāla. There was rain at Mādēgāla. There was rain at Mādēgāla. There was rain on the high land. There is muddy water bringing down logs. (There has been) a *yaka* ceremony below the rock. (I) cannot go on the ground as there is dew. Let us ride on the back of the buffalo. Anē! our husbands having climbed up the *kobbe* creeper, on its breaking having fallen; having climbed the *kalina* creeper, on its breaking, too, having fallen; bending the bow (made) of *wæl-kobbe*[1] creeper, putting the canes at the back of the head[2], taking the betel bag at the waist, taking the axe at the waist, putting the dirty monitor lizard on the shoulder, sending in front the dog Kaḍiyā, (You are) to come, they say (or he says or we say) Potubanda Nayide, (you are) to come, they say (or he says, or we say) Potubanda Nayide.

XII. *Mā miṇi mā miṇi mā deyiyā*
Mā miṇi mā miṇi mā deyiyā
Ānē apē wannilā
Kokkā gāli yanni denna
Mādi gāli yanni denna
Kokkā gāli hari baburu
Mādi gāli hari baburu
Kākuru Kandi Kōbeyiyā
Kākuru Kandi Kōbeyiyā
Kuṭuruṇ kuṭuruṇ kiyanna

[1] *Allophylus cobbe.*
[2] Or "carrying them hanging round the neck."

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Kuṭurup kuṭurup kīyanā
Tāla piṭiṭa wayi wālā
Kāṭan dimana hora watuwayi
Kāṭan dimana hora watuwayi
Kāḍen paccalayak gamata
Bimen yannaṭa bol ṭini harimayiṭṭi
Madayā piṭen yanni dennā
Kaliya wela nagtā
Ēhat bāndagena wattā
Kobbe welā nagtā
Ēhat bāndagena wattā
Wal-kobbe wela dunna damāgena
Wīwel icagē piṭaṭa damāgena
Kaḍiyā ballat iccarabaragena
Endalu potubanna nayidē
Endalu potubanna nayidē
Mā miṭi mā miṭi mā deyiyā
Mā miṭi mā miṭi mā deyiyā.

Ah, our husbands! Let us go to Kokkagala. Let us go to Madegala. (I) cannot go to Kokkagala. I cannot go to Madegala. The dove of the Kakuru-kanda is uttering *kuturun, kuturun*. There has been rain in the high land. There has been muddy water bringing down logs. There has been a *yaha* ceremony (lit. *yaha* house) below the hill. (I) cannot go on the ground as there is dew. Let us ride on the buffalo. Having climbed up the *kāṭlya* creeper, on its breaking having fallen; having climbed up the *kobbe* creeper, on its breaking too, having fallen; putting down the bow (made) of *wal-kobbe* creeper, putting the canes at the back of the head[1]; sending in front the dog Kaḍiyā, (you are) to come, they say (or he says or we say) Potubanda Nayidē. (You are) to come, they say (or he says or we say) Potubanda Nayidē. *Mā miṭi mā miṭi mā deyiyā, Mā miṭi mā miṭi mā deyiyā.*

All the remaining songs except the last were collected from the village Veddas of the Uva Bintenne; all are of one type and with a single exception (No. XVII) all are related to each other and to the two songs immediately preceding them which we obtained at Nilgala. No. XVII, the exception just referred to, is extremely Sinhalese in tone and thought. The *gomara* spots referred to are the light patches on the body, due to the attacks of a parasitic fungus, which are much admired by the peasant Sinhalese of Uva and the Eastern Province.

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[1] Or "carrying them hanging round the neck."

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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XIII. *Kaliya wele nagila*
Rafaṭa ḍaligena waṭila
Tunaṭiya ḍollat biddila
Tā ya kella genun wat
Nandage ḍaḍeraṭa mangaccala
Tānanne ḷala ittanne?
Mundi kaḍḍeṭiṭa waṭirila
Ōhaṭa widaṭaw kiri nānā
Iccala widaṭi icca eri
Tembaṭa laṭṭen numāṭi
Ē madi widaṭi mari
Deṭiṭa maṭen wilga
Peruma maraṭin nānā
Puccā hālayi diya bonne
Eliya ṭikn wi cunaw nānā
Cappi cili bili kiyannan
Yannata naṭiya nānā
Walheggāyē cappigē gāl
Cappige kittara dekama dekayi
Pucci hālā diya bonne nānā
Tan tadina tan tadinā?
Mōmiya monīyi unūniya
Kottikaṭa kana mē kālā hālayi diya bonne.

Having climbed up the *kaliya* creeper,
Splitting it in two and having fallen,
Having broken (his?) hip and stick,
Having even brought thy girl,
Having gone to thy mother-in-law's mat (*i.e.* hut).
Tānanne ḷala ittanne?
The monitor lizard is sprawling on the log.
Shoot it dear cousin,
Shoot at the head. You will miss the head;
Incline (the arrow) towards the tail, by the ribs.
Shoot (it) in the middle; it will die.
Kill the buffalo, cousin,
Which has smeared (itself) at the pool with mud on both sides.
Having roasted and eaten (part of it) we drink water.
The light is coming, cousin,
The birds say *silibili*.
Must we not go, cousin?
In the bird's nest on the Wal-kon tree
There are two and two bird's eggs.
Having roasted and eaten (them) we drink water, cousin.
Tan tadina tan tadinā?
To eat a part, having cut this and eaten (it), we drink water.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Dekama dekayi Sin. *deka dekayi*, two and two, or two by two.
533 The last line appears to refer to the buffalo that was killed.
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XIV. *Hitten tukdinā tun tukdipāne*
Hi kaliya wakī nagilā
Hitten bimaṭa waṭṭilā
Hi Kokkāgalaṭa mam danin
Etten ipiṭa mam nodanin
Etten ipiṭat mam danin
Madi-galaṭa mam nodanin
Etten ipiṭat mam danin
Utkirigalaṭa mam danin
Etten ipiṭa mā nodanin
Etten ipiṭat mam danin
Hi mandigalaṭa mam danin
Etten ipiṭat mam nodanin
Waḷaṇā mama lasu kakdalā
Waḷaṇā piṭin yannat berinan
Cewapen cewapaṭa yamu denā
Tewapen tewapaṭa yannat barinan
Sitin sulakgin yamu denā.

Hitten tukdinā tun tukdipāne.

Having climbed the *kaliyawala* creeper, and having fallen to the ground from it, I know the way to Kokkagala. I know the way beyond that also. I do not know the way to Madegala. I know the way beyond that also. I know the way to Utkirigala. I do not know the way beyond that. I know the way beyond that also. I know the way to that Madegala. I do not know the way beyond that also. Put the ropes on the hunting buffalo. If we cannot go on the back of the hunting buffalo let us go from shelter to shelter. If we cannot go from shelter to shelter, let us go (exposing ourselves) to cold and wind.

XV. *Tan ṭuṭṭiṇāmam ṭuṭṭiṇāne*
Tāṇḍam ṭaṇḍini ṭaṇḍiṇāne
Diyaṭa kaṭṭiyan uḍa nerumā
Diyaṭa kaṭṭāyi uḍa nerumā
Cāṭṭi cilli killi biyannā
Cāṭṭi cilli killi biyannā
Ran kuru mātuā ṭapannā
Ran kuru mātuā ṭapannā
Hi mam kavuda biyālā
Hi mam kavuda biyālā
Etaṭeṭa aḍe aru kiri nāmā
Etaṭeṭa aḍe aru kiri nāmā.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-S (1907-1908) 1911
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Tan paḷḷinānan paḷḷināṉ
Tāṉṉan paṉṉiṉi paṉṉiṉāṉ
Diyaṉa kaḷḷan uṉa nenenṉ
Diyaṉa kaḷḷayi uṉa nenenṉ
The birds are twittering[1]
The birds are twittering.
A golden bud face was visible
A golden bud face was visible.
I asked "Who is that?"
I asked "Who is that?"
Then (it was) that dear cousin of ours.
Then (it was) that dear cousin of ours.

XVI. *Tan paḷiṉāṉ paḷḷiṉāṉ*
Tāṉaṉ paṉṉiṉa paḷḷiṉāṉ
Kaṭuru-kandi kekyi
Kaṭuru-kandi kekyi
Kaṭaruṉ kaṭaruṉ kiyanṉ
Kaṭaruṉ kaṭaruṉ kiyanṉ
Kaṉulli paṭṭa kaḷi kāṭa
Kaṉulli paṭṭa kaḷayi kāṭa
Æṭa paṭiṭṭaṉ kaṉullaṉ
Æṭa paṭiṭṭaṉ kaṉullaṉ.

Tan paḷiṉāṉ paḷḷiṉāṉ
Tāṉaṉ paṉṉiṉa paḷḷiṉāṉ
A dove of the *Kaṭuru-kandi* (lit. camphor mountain) is crying *kaṭaruṉ, kaṭaruṉ*. No one has cakes. Eat some grain.

The last three songs are evidently variants of a common theme, or perhaps of a number of common themes, for they suggest that they consist of a number of fragments strung together with little regard for their meaning. They were certainly sung for the pleasure they afforded, and perhaps the incongruity of the subjects alluded to and the abrupt way in which they are introduced amuses the audience. Nevill collected variants of fragments of these songs in the Bintenne which he definitely regards as comic.

The following is the first of these fragments:

Kaṭuru gaṭa dewa nagilā
Ehat hindi gana wattilā

[1] Literally "the birds are uttering *chilili*," the last word being onomatopoetic. Mr Parker, to whom we are indebted for the translation of this song, is uncertain of the meaning of the third and fourth lines; perhaps they might be translated "There was a noise of water; we made obeisance."

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Dēnaṟu mādan ḥrillā
Mānini mānini mā mā māyi.

Having run and climbed up the *kukuru* tree
That breaking having fallen,
Having stuck in the mud up to the knee,
Mānini mānini mā mā māyi.

Nevill regards this as a "take off of the hymns sung by the celebrant when inspired in the worship of Kiri Amma, a Vedda form of Venus, Pattini, Parvati, or Amman," and he states that the "refrain is that actually used in her honour." Further "the *kukuru* tree is a prickly bush, up which no one could think of climbing, and the utter nonsense is a ridiculous parody on the hymn."

The following is given as comic by the same authority, who draws attention to "both *pata pata* and *danni panni*," being expressions coined from the sound of a heavy body falling whop, whop, or flop, flop, and pulling itself up slowly and with pain.

Kukuru kande nagilā
Pata pata gā gana waetilā
Danni panni gāla nagitala
Tān nan tadi tadi tā mā mā.

XVII. *Ayyō nōnage dīṭi walalu gigiri diwa naṭa daṭdeyi kiri nōnā*
Nōnage haṭṭaṭa iwwa gōmaru poṭiwan gōmaru icilā
Nōnage haṭṭaṭa iwwa gōmaru mayo handet iciyō
Nōnaṭa haṭṭaṭa paṭṭimala ayiyō poṭ paṭi haṭā waetennō
Nenaṭa wiyaṭu paḍuru ayiyō heṭin raṭā wettya
Kaḍirawalli hiṭṭi wiyaṇi nangiyat wiyan damanni
Æṭul wiyan damanni hala atul wiyan no danna nōnā
Piṭi wiyan damanni eḷe wina paṇan wina ennow nōnā
Caṭṭi cili kiḷi kiyanni yannaṭa niḍikimiḍiya nōnā
Oyē heṭaṭā wacē ewiḍiṇ nōnage paḍuraṭa wirwanā.

Good wife! Oh what a noise the jingling bells of the bracelet on the two hands of yours (lit. of wife) are making! There are (lit. spread) *gomaru* spots (on my body) resembling the *gomaru* spots on (lit. spread on) my wife's waist. The *gomaru* spots which are (lit. spread) on (my) wife's waist (are) spread on my waist also. Oh! the thickened honey of the honey packet made up (lit. tied up) for (my) wife is dripping. Oh! the coloured stripes of the mat woven for (my) wife are gone straight. A canopy is tied to Kadirawalla. The younger sister is also putting up canopies. She is

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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putting up inner canopies. Oh wife! do not put up inner canopies. She is putting up outer canopies. Wife, bring white canopies and leaf canopies. The birds are chirping[1]. Wife, rise up from sleep to go. The calves (or oxen) having come after playing in the river went to (my) mother-in-law's[2] hut.

The last song was collected at Unuwatura Bubula.

XVIII. (1) *Aṇḍā diyu dæwana māwili gaḷgāwē*
Soraboṛa wili wilpatuleṇ enawāda
Aṭai damā daṭaha eṇa nuṛāwē
Sāli piṭawala yak gammal
Sāli piṭawala wæki wæhæli hæṛu watuṛiyi

(2) *Bimin yanna hæṛi nam*
Wadanā uṭumaṭa lanu hæṛāḍapaṛ
Tiṛ ṭeḍinā
Aṛgaṛu naṭun naṭunē
Sellan hæṛu paḍa gasṭapaṛ.

(1) Oh Māwili river! whose water is flowing, making a sound! Are you coming from the bottom of the lake Soraboṛawila? Oh lover! who comes in two directions, having put (your) hand also (round her neck). There has been *yaṭa* ceremony at Salapitawala. It having rained, there is muddy water at Salapitawala.

(2) If you cannot go walking (lit. on-the ground) put the ropes on the hunting buffalo.
Tiṛ ṭeḍinā
They are dancing gesture dances[3].
Play a tune on the drum (used) for games.

This song very clearly shows the composite nature of some of the Vedda songs, especially those in use among the more sophisticated groups. The first two lines of the first verse and the last two lines of the second verse are obviously related to, if they are not derived from, the invocation sung at the *Kaḷa-maḍamma* ceremony (Chapter X, No. XXXIX), while the first two lines of the last verse refer to harnessing a buffalo as in the preceding songs.

[1] Lit. uttering *cilili*.

[2] [*Nænda* presumably for *nænde* from *nændamma* a paternal aunt or maternal uncle's wife, hence mother-in-law, *cf.* pp. 64 and 65.]

[3] We are indebted to Mr Parker for the following note. "*Aṇgaru naṭun naṭunē* may be 'dancing gesture-dances' or 'dances of gesture-dances.' *Aṇgaruya* is stated by Clough to be 'gesture,' the particular gesture of the Malabar dancing girl'."

2:Bailey G-5 (ca. 1854) 1863
AX5 Vedda AX5

wildest Veddahs are without an "instinct of worship." They believe that the air is peopled by spirits, that every rock and every tree, every forest and every hill, in short every feature of nature, has its *genius loci*; but these seem little else than mere nameless phantoms, whom they regard rather with mysterious awe than actual dread. 776

Such appears to be the form which the superstitions of every savage tribe naturally assume,—the necessity for a belief in something more than human, imparting to the commonest objects a supernatural character. But besides this vague spirit-worship, they have a more definite superstition, in which there is more of system. This is the belief in the guardianship of the spirits of the dead. Every near relative becomes a spirit after death, who watches over the welfare of those who are left behind. These, which include their ancestors and their children, they term their "néhya yakoon," kindred spirits. They describe them as "ever watchful, coming to them in sickness, visiting them in dreams, giving them flesh when hunting." In short in every calamity, in every want they call on them for aid; and it is curious that the shades of their departed children, "bilindoo yakkoon," or infant spirits, as they call them, are those which they appear most frequently to invoke.* 776 775 769

It is a pretty belief, and contrasts favourably with the superstitions of the Kandyans, who have spirits enough in their system, but almost all thoroughly malignant, and needing constant propitiation. But the Veddah spirit-world is singularly free from evil. I can find only one *absolutely* malignant spirit in it whom they really fear;† though, like all savages, they have an undefined awe of the nameless spirits whom they believe to haunt the darkness. The shades of their ancestors and of their children seem to be purely benevolent. The ceremonies with which they invoke them are few as they are simple. The most common is the following. An arrow is fixed upright in the ground, and the Veddah dances slowly round it, chanting this invocation, which is almost musical in its rhythm. 769 776 782

"Mâ miya, mâ miy, mâ deyâ'
Topeng kayihetti mittigea yaakk'a!" [539]

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* They also speak of them as "wisera yakkoon," "child-spirits." They seem to prefer their great-grandmother (maha kiri amma) to the rest of their deficient ancestors; but I cannot ascertain any cause for their preference for the old lady. I may, however, be wrong in describing it as a preference. It may be the reverse, for she is invoked chiefly in cases of sickness, when the patient is supposed to be suffering from the malignity of a spirit. [553]

† Avitramada Yakka, who especially injures women, lying wait for them in the forest.

2: Bailey G-5 (ca. 1854) 1863
AX5 Vedda AX5

"My departed one, my departed one, my God!
Where art thou wandering?"*

The spirits of the dead is here simply called upon, without even the object for which it is invoked being mentioned. And this invocation appears to be used on all occasions when the intervention of the guardian spirits is required, in sickness, preparatory to hunting, etc.†

Sometimes, in the latter case, a portion of the flesh of the game is promised as a votive offering, in the event of the chase being successful; and they believe that the spirits will appear to them in dreams and tell them where to hunt.

Sometimes they cook food and place it in the dry bed of a river, or some other secluded spot, and then call on their deceased ancestors by name. "Come, and partake of this! Give us maintenance as you did when living! Come, wheresoever you may be; on a tree, on a rock, in the forest, come!" And they dance round the food, half chanting, half shouting, the invocation.‡

They have no knowledge of a Supreme Being. "Is he on a rock? On a white ant-hill? On a tree? I never saw a God!" was the only reply I received to repeated questions.§ They have

* I find in my notes another version of this invocation, which slightly alters the first words. It runs thus: "Ma mini, ma mini!—my gem, my gem!" but "mlya," which signifies "dead," is the most common. The word in the invocation translated "God" is evidently a corruption of the Sanskrit deva, a god or divinity. EDIT.]

† And they are invoked without any ceremony at all—by a mere mental ejaculation. I once saw a Veddah make a bad shot, and he threw down his bow with a gesture of impatience, saying—"That was because I did not call on my Billindoo Yakkoon." And before making his next shot, he muttered an invocation.

‡ A superstition similar somewhat to this is prevalent among the neighbouring Singhalese. If a man die who has lived a good life, his relatives give alms to the poor, calling on the dead by name to look down on them, and enable them to follow his good example. If he has lived an evil life, alms are also given; but these are propitiatory offerings for his sins, and to avert his evil influence from his survivors. For, in this case, he has become an evil spirit, apt to injure his own family and their cattle unless civilly treated. The degree of malignity depends on the degree of evil in the life led by deceased. If he dies with a hankering after worldly things, he haunts the house in which he lived in a variety of forms—perhaps most commonly that of a toad or a cobra, probably because these frequent houses. It is also, in some parts, a common belief that if a man die, and shortly after one of the family fall sick, and is not cured by the usual medicines and ceremonies, the sickness is attributed to the spirit of the dead, who must be propitiated by a mess of rice, left in the house for him. This, generally, is supposed to effect a cure.

§ It is curious that in one of their invocations, "mā Deyā", my God! occurs, see before; and that of thunder they say, "a spirit, or a god has cried out".

2: Bailey G-5 (ca. 1854) 1863
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262 171 Almost omnivorous, I have before remarked their scrupulous abstinence from the flesh of cows and fowls, though they can assign no reason for it. Now, though good Buddhists as well as Hindús reject the flesh of cows, yet since the Veddahs have never associated with their Buddhist neighbours, they cannot have acquired this prejudice from them.

And though all over the south-east part of Ceylon, where even the superstitious awe of Skanda extends, the cock, the device on his banner, is to a certain degree respected; yet, since the Veddahs care no more for Skanda than they do for all the other gods in the Hindú Pantheon—the very names of whom, *as gods*, are unknown to them, they would not respect his sacred cock.* In

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789 but Pasé-B'uddho—the only single allusion to Buddhism among them; but the very meaning of this and other charms is unknown to the Veddahs. They are repeated by rote; they do not pause to understand them, and could not if they would. It is enough for them, as for most Oriental people, that a particular formula is to serve a particular purpose.

Veddah Charm for Protection against a Wild Boar.

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Ira deyené ôkma.	Boar (?) of the sun-god!
Sanda deyené ôkma.	Boar (?) of the moon-god!
Pasé budené ôkma.	Boar (?) of the Pasé Buddha!
Situ ôkma situ.	Stay, boar, stay!

Singhalese Charm for Tooth ache.

Ira deyené myá!	Worm of the sun-god!
Sanda deyené myá!	Worm of the moon-god!
Pasé Budené myá!	Worm of the Pasé Buddha!
Daté nositoo dat myá!	Stay not in the tooth, thou tooth-worm!

171 These are identical; yet the Veddahs and the Singhalese certainly do not associate so closely as to borrow one another's charms. Have they descended in each race since the time they were one? The term *okma* I can get no satisfactory explanation of. It is not Singhalese, certainly. I assume it means "wild boar", as this is the charm to arrest a boar in the path; but it is not the term used by the Veddahs for a boar in ordinary conversation. The allusion to the Pasé, or Pachá, Buddha, is curious as occurring in both; the one people being anything but Buddhist, while Buddhism is the religion of the other. As Gotama Buddha visited Ceylon long anterior to the final establishment of Buddhism in Ceylon, and descended in Bintenne, may not this solitary allusion to the religion have been handed down in this form among the Veddahs from a period even before the invasion by Wijalja? In the form of a charm which is repeated by rote, such an allusion would be most naturally retained. So far from having any Buddhist tendencies, they do not even show the slightest outward respect in the presence of a Buddhist priest. The other Veddah charms are, I believe, quite unlike those of the Singhalese, but on that point I am still making inquiries; aided, as I have been throughout, by Mr. De Loyse, the able and intelligent modhar of Benlotte.

* The far-famed Hindu temple of Katragam, which attracts thousands of pilgrims annually from India, and is regarded with awe by the Singhalese, is dedicated to Skanda, the Indian Mars. The temple is built on a spot which, according to tradition (though it is not mentioned in the Skanda Puranas), is the site of Skanda's camp in his wars with the Asuras.

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with muscular grace, performed the flower dance to the Peradeniya god for the favour of crops.

The women of Kadiniyaya slunk into their hovels at sight of us. A man sat scraping the hair off a girl's scalp with a blunt knife; another was muttering a spell over some lime juice for a fevered wretch. Swarming blue-bottles and a most unholy odour led to the discovery, in a covered hole, of putrid sambur entrails awaiting the pot; like civilised epicures they apparently fancied their game high!

Wadinagala, the southern Friar's Hood (the mountain that rose to Buddha's bidding), towered before us as we lay encamped in the picturesque little village of Landegama. Here we learnt that a company of gipsies, some fifty strong, had preceded us. These forest gangs, unlike those of the road, are nomadic shepherds, pasturing their herds in the jungle plains. They hunt the sambur with dogs and javelin. Approaching coastal towns from time to time they barter their cattle, and are on the whole fairly prosperous. But a gipsy is a gipsy the world over, faithful to traditions of snake-craft and beggary, and these are no exception, plying their trade among the poor villagers with an eye to a handful of grain or vegetables. Sooner or later we hoped to meet them, but for the present all the evidence we had of them were abandoned hearths and a helpless pup they had heartlessly abandoned.

At Landegama was a hunter who entertained us far into the night with jungle tales. He described to us how leopards caught monkeys. The animal climbs a tree in the line of feeding langurs, and waits concealed. When one of them comes near enough he springs on it and both fall to the ground. Should the attempt fail, the leopard gives forth a series of fearful growls and rushes hither and thither making great commotion; then suddenly becomes quiet and hides. Inquisitiveness is the monkeys' undoing; at first, uttering their cries of rage and terror, the 'ah-he-hik' so familiar to hunters, they look for him from secure heights; but not seeing him they become bolder and bolder and come down lower and lower; until eventually, one pays the price of his foolhardiness.

Wadinagala village, singularly enough, lies farther from the rock of that name than Landegama which nestles at its foot. Here was a medley of huts well illustrating the various types prevalent in the *Vanni*. The roofs of all were *illuk*-thatched; but the walls were various: a few were made of mud, some of wattle and bast, others of wattle and maize sheaths or of leafy twigs; while most had two or more of these combined.

A sudden shower, that caught us as we rested on the banks of the Palang Oya, proved the harbinger of many wet days to come. That evening we entered Kokunahare in the pelting rain, our clothes, bedding and food deplorably drenched. Rushing into the first hut we found we ousted its occupants with gentle persuasion. Cooking was out of the question; but our ever-ready lunch basket provided a menu of tongue, fruit salad, biscuits and cheese, and a thermos-flaskful of hot tea. What shifts the shivering carriers made for food or sleep we had not the courage to inquire.

5: Spittel D-5 (ca. 1920) 1945 AX5 Vedda AX5

being strangled. I know a man who, on hearing this cry, rushed out of this house one night, lantern in hand, imagining murder was afoot! A creature with a voice like that should not complain if stories are told of it. According to some, the bird is the incarnation of a Buddhist priest who goes about seeking his stolen book wailing, "*Mai potha ko?*" (Where is my book?). Others say the *ulama* cries whenever it sees a corpse prepared for burial held up before it by an exultant demon; then uttering a succession of screams it falls senseless from its perch. The most gruesome story to its credit is the following; even the old women who relate these tales show particular reticence with regard to this one:—

Once there lived a man and his wife and they had a little child. One day when the woman went out to fetch firewood, the man killed his child, cut up some of its flesh and cooked and ate it, leaving a portion on the fire for his wife. When she returned she saw the meat and asked her husband where he had got it.

"Never mind that," said the man. "You eat."

The woman was enjoying her meal when suddenly she noticed a child's finger on her plate.

"Where is our child?" she asked apprehensively.

"That is what you are eating", said her inhuman husband.

Thereupon the woman, thrusting the handle of a coconut-shell spoon into her head, fled into the jungle shrieking "*Mai lamaya ko? Mai lamaya ko?*" (Where is my child? Where is my child?) and became the crested *ulama*. Now this story, folk-lore though it be, confirms the assumption that the devil bird has some sort of a tuft on its head.

5: Spittel D-5 (ca. 1920) 1945 AX5 Vedda AX5

the other heel. Python fat is used for fractures. *Nagamaru-alla* has a great reputation as an aphrodisiac, less among the Veddas than among the Moors and Tamils. *Bing kohomba* (*munronia pumila*) gathered in the hills, and *kansa* (*cannabis indica*) grown surreptitiously, are always barterable. Besides the lesser poisons used for stupefying fish, there are the deadly *neeagalla-alla* (*gloriosa superba*); *mansa-kolle* (*laporica crenulata*); *thea-kadurugedde* (*cerbera odallam*) and *kirinthea*.

There can be little doubt that much of the *cannabis indica* obtainable in Ceylon is grown in the forests by the encouragement of Moors. Traffic in the drug being illegal, the plant is cultivated clandestinely in sequestered jungle clearings or scattered amidst the vegetation of *chenas*. Though the plants fetch a good price, they are hardly worth the trouble and risk involved in tending them; and they say that "money got from *kansa* never stays in the hand." Not only have the plants to be watered for at least three months, but, very often, just as the crop is ready for harvesting, a thief helps himself to it. The commodity is conveyed to the lonely coast or the high road in the dead of night, along unfrequented game trails, in bags containing nests, grain, or dried meat.

A poignant story concerns the discovery of the *nagamaru-alla*, that esteemed aphrodisiac so difficult to find. A Vedda boy and his sister were travelling alone in the forest, when a shower of rain drove them to seek shelter under a tree. As is usual with Veddas when they rest, the boy stuck his arrows into the ground. Then, taking out of his pouch of monkey skin a chew of *demata* bark, he shared it with his sister; and, plucking out an arrow from the ground, placed on its point a little lime and gave it to her. She had scarcely tasted this when she began to manifest unsisterly familiarity. Her brother, incensed and shamed, drew his bow and killed her on the spot. Overcome by sorrow at what he had done, he debated in his mind as to why his sister, so good before, should suddenly have behaved so shamelessly. It occurred to him that the explanation might lie in the spot the arrow had been implanted; digging there he found a yam his arrow had transfixed. Thus was its named derived *nagamaru-alla* or yam that killed a sister; the Tamils call it *thangai kolai* which means the same thing. The marks of the tragedy are said to be evident to this day in the red spots that fleck the flower and leaf. I have seen the plant, a ground orchid, twice, but only the white-flowered variety not the reputedly more potent mottled. The slender stalk, bearing a delicate flower about half the size of a lupin, grows out of two downy ovoid yams.

The proper home of the Vedda is the *galge* or cave; and in these until recent years, the wilder of them exclusively lived. Now they only serve as occasional haunts, and therefore often have other occupants besides Veddas, chiefly bears; for this reason no Vedda approaches an unoccupied cave without warning: "*Cho-ho-ho, cho-ho-ho*," he shouts. "*Kiribala, karia, karia, cho-ho-ho, cho-ho-ho*." A snarl and a rush often greet the words. These rock-shelters are invariably hidden away among trees and boulders, and are extremely difficult to find except by those who know them.

Many of the caves are spacious, open and inviting; others dark and forbidding. Some source of water, such as a stream or spring, is usually at hand. The sloping roofs of the caves often present such crude picture galleries as we saw at Henanagalla, also wasps' nests, and the clustering

5: Spittel D-5 (ca. 1920) 1945 AX5 Vedda AX5

front of it is a much chipped *opulu* tree from which the Veddas every now and then renew their chew. Throughout the day the surrounding woods echo to the voices of food-gatherers or the blows of axes, as combs are cut out of hollow trees. At fiful intervals the *kolong koka* (stork-billed king-fisher), lord of the rocky stream, raises a clamorous cry, or the wood-pecker startlingly proclaims to the world that it sees the great she-demon (*maha yakkini*). As evening comes, the *kotaka* (gekko) that shares the cave, drawls in quaint imitation of his name, "ko-tak-ko." The night is ushered in by the solemn notes of the night jar* and bell-like sounds of frogs. The crescent moon shines through the trees, peopling the forest with mysterious shadows. Strange noises are heard around, a breaking branch perhaps, a dropping stone, or an animal's foot-falls. Then the little one creeps to its mother whispering, "Mother, the *hetha*"; and she, fondling, replies, "Yes, it is the *hetha*, child; be still." Now fires are stirred, and the Veddas, couched on leaves, and doubled up under their meagre rags, lie as close to them as they dare. For the caves are cold at night even on the hottest day. And every now and then throughout the dark, one or other of them groans with the chill, gets up, pokes the fire, and snuggles nearer to it. Is it a wonder that ash is the morning mark of the Vedda and *Alu galge* a favourite name of his cave? By six, the morning mists have melted and the cave begins to warm.

*At dusk, and all through the night, Horsfield's night jar gathers into its rich liquid notes the silence and mystery of the forest. There is no jungle, however desolate, in which this ever welcome music is not heard. It is at once the curfew of the jungle, the embodiment of all the stealthy, nocturnal life in it, and the destiny and doom of it.

Puthu-kati-paruwa (seven-sons-axe) is the Sinhalese name of the bird in perfect imitation of its cry; and the following story explains it.—A woman once sent her seven sons into the jungle to fell trees. One of the trees falling in their direction, the brothers attempted to shoulder it off and were all killed. The mother, having cooked the evening meal, waited at home for her sons. But as they did not return she went out to look for them, and found them all dead beside the fallen tree. Taking up an axe she killed herself and became this bird; and now from dusk till dawn she cries *puthu-kati-paruwa* through the lonesome woods